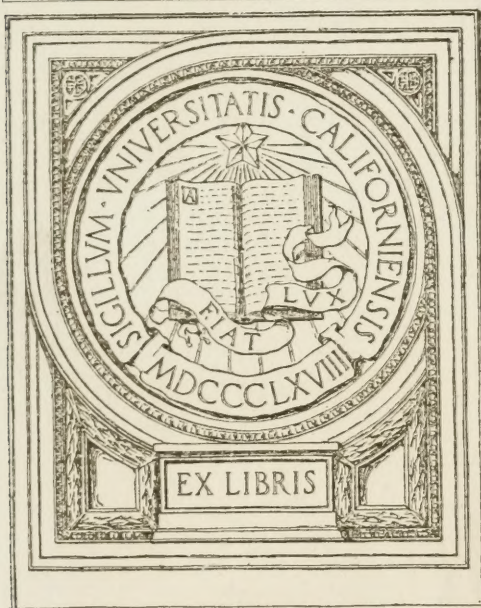




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CONTEMPORARY EUROPE ASIA AND AFRICA

BY

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HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN EUROPE FROM
THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA TO THE
PRESENT TIME"

VOLUME XX

OF

A HISTORY OF ALL NATIONS



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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

IN this edition of the HISTORY OF ALL NATIONS the contemporary history of Europe, Africa, Asia, and Australasia has been continued from the point where Professor Andrews left it in the autumn of 1901 to the end of 1904. In the case of the conflict in the Far East, between Russia and Japan, an exception was made and the narrative carried into the year 1905, to the beginning of the negotiations for peace.

In presenting the subject I have adhered rigorously to the principle of historical writing pursued by Professor Andrews in the earlier portions of the work, selecting only such facts as seemed to me basic, presenting them without comment or interpretation, but with due regard for emphasis.

W. E. L.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE subject of the present volume is the recent history of Europe, Asia, and Africa to the beginning of the twentieth century. The *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte*, of which the preceding volumes, by various authors, contain a translation, was carried by Professor Theodor Flathe to the close of the reign of Emperor William I. (1888); but as the treatment of other countries than Germany, since 1871, was largely summary in character and the subject viewed by the author naturally from a German standpoint, the publishers deemed it best that the history of the last thirty years should be the work of a single hand, and that my task of continuation should begin not with the year 1888, but with the year 1871. Consequently Professor Flathe's work closes with the chapters on the Vatican Council and the internal history of Germany from 1871 to 1888, which are to be found in Volume XIX., and my contribution begins with the present volume.

The difficulties of defining present tendencies are so manifest that in treating this period of thirty years I have allowed events to tell their own tale, substituting selection and stress for comment and interpretation.

C. M. A.

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EUROPE

CONTEMPORARY EUROPE, ASIA, AND AFRICA.

CHAPTER I.

THE THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC.

DURING the last months of the war of 1870-71 the provisional government in France, having arranged an armistice with the invading Germans, summoned the people to the polls to elect a National Assembly. This body, which was elected on February 8, 1871, was composed of 500 Monarchists, who were alike weary of the war and opposed to the republic, and 250 Republicans, of whom a score or more were Irreconcilables. Sitting at Bordeaux, it decreed the peace even at the cost of Alsace and Lorraine, the territories that Germany was demanding; and, after three weeks of negotiation, agreed to pay the heavy indemnity of 5,000,000,000 francs. Moreover, it refused to proclaim the republic, and elected, as the "chief of the executive power," Thiers, whose sympathies had been in the past strongly monarchical and who with Jules Favre (Fig. 1) had taken a very prominent part in those controversies with Bismarck that had brought so much shame and chagrin to France. Thiers' ministry was composed of three Republicans and six members of the Right Centre, the latter for the most part Orleanist sympathizers, and prepared to meet the difficult and dangerous situation which the war had created.



FIG. 1. Jules Favre.

It would seem enough that the new government should have been called upon to reconstruct the army, the finances, and even the society of a fallen state, yet at the very beginning of its work it found itself con-

fronted by the National Guard and the proletariat of Paris, who, fearing an Orleanist reaction and resenting the selection of Versailles as the seat of the new government, organized the Commune and prepared to resist the authority of the National Assembly.

In May, 1871, after the Commune had been overthrown, the National Assembly addressed itself to its great task. The events which had taken place in Paris had not only rendered more difficult the adoption of a republican form of government, but had also added very considerably to the embarrassments of the provisional authorities. The situation, already bad, was only further complicated by the expense of suppressing the insurrection and the determination of Bismarck to prolong the occupation of Paris and the provinces until the German government should be satisfied that order had been sufficiently restored "to assure the execution of the obligations which had been contracted." To free France from these obligations, therefore, became the first object of the government, and with wonderful rapidity and success did Thiers accomplish this part of his work.

In June, 1871, a loan of 2,500,000,000 francs was called for and rapidly subscribed, Paris alone offering more than the required amount, while in all France the loan was covered and exceeded by a milliard of francs. The first payment was then made to Germany. In July, 1872, a second loan was subscribed fourteen times over, Paris offering 14 milliards, the provinces 10, and capitalists outside of France subscribing altogether 570 millions. This remarkable piece of financiering made it possible for the government to pay the last instalment to Germany six months before it was due. The money which, according to the terms of the treaty, was to be handed over at the latest by March 2, 1874, was actually paid on September 5, 1873; and on the 16th of that month the last foreign soldier was withdrawn from the soil of France. This result was due in largest part to the successful commercial operations that had been conducted in France under the treaties negotiated by Napoleon III. from 1860 to 1866, whereby there had been established abroad credits which in this emergency could be transferred to German hands. Thus no serious draft was made on domestic capital, the vitality of the country remained in this respect unimpaired, and the self-respect of the people of France was restored.

But the payment of the war indemnity did not discharge the actual cost of the war. For the benefit of the departments, communities, and private persons, the government appropriated 686 millions of francs; and for the benefit of Paris, 140 millions, although the actual losses of the city were estimated to have reached 303 millions, the Commune alone

having cost 230 millions. The state debt, already enormous because of the extravagant expenditures of Napoleon III., rose from 11 to 18 milliards, and that the interest, which increased from 350 to 750 millions, might be met, new taxes equal to the latter sum were imposed. Altogether the actual cost of the war, when indemnity, cost of occupation, damages, and expenditures are taken into account, reached as high as 15½ milliards of francs. Exciting discussions arose in the National Assembly as to the character of the new taxes, the free-traders opposing vehemently the proposal of Thiers to impose duties on raw materials; but the matter was finally settled, although it required a threat from Thiers to resign before he was able to carry his point. Throughout all these negotiations this statesman stood as the embodiment of French patriotism and honor. To those who feared that France might not be able to endure the heavy burden, he said: "I have made a serious and profound study of the situation, the study of a man who has grave obligations to fulfil and who has a full realization of the gravity of the crisis that confronts us. Thanks to that study, I am able to say to you, to the country, to the world, that France without doubt has been unfortunate; but that if she be brave and deceive herself with no illusions, she will be able to bear all the charges which now weigh upon her."

But Thiers did not content himself with statements of this optimistic character. Having provided for the relief of the country by meeting the financial obligations, he next took up the second part of his programme, the reorganization of the army. On July 27, 1872, a law was passed providing for such extensive changes in the make-up and equipment of the army as to constitute practically a military revolution in France. In the support of such a measure all the people of the country stood unanimous, ready to bear any burdens, if only the army, which in the past had been the glory of France, might recover its honor and become again the defender of the land. Moreover, the uncertainty prevailing in France, as in Europe at large, regarding the policy of the new German empire, and the fear that the new emperor might desire additional territories and additional indemnities made the French people most eager to take measures for defence, while in the minds of the Monarchists, Ultra-Conservatives, as well as of the Irreconcilables, there was undoubtedly present the hope of humbling the insolent Protestant emperor and recovering the lost provinces.

The new army law, modelled after that of Germany, introduced universal military obligation instead of that occasional service which under the old system had allowed the employment of substitutes. All men between twenty and forty years of age were now liable to serve five

years with the colors, four years with the reserve, five years with the territorial army in active service at the front, and six years with the territorial reserve whose task it was to attend to the local defences. Under this arrangement all classes of the population were required to serve in the army, which was to number during peace 460,000, and 1,470,000 in time of war, with the single exception of certain categories of citizens whose term of service was limited to six months. The recruiting system was revised in its turn, but in this France did not follow Prussia's plan of recruiting each corps from the province where its members lived. The next year a law of July 24, 1873, completed the reorganization of the army and provided for 144 regiments of infantry, 70 of cavalry, and 18 of artillery. These were distributed into 18 army corps, with a 19th for Algeria, and 8 separate cavalry divisions. Even more extraordinary were the provisions made for the defence of Paris, whereby a chain of forts was thrown about the city, rendering practically impossible another investment like that which had recently caused such enormous suffering and loss.

Another measure of the year 1871, of no less importance for the development of the country, provided for the reorganization of the communes in the interest of decentralization. General councils were established in each of the departments to assist the préfet, and were given extensive powers. They were authorized to acquire and control departmental properties; to manage and maintain departmental roads and railways; to establish and maintain ferries; to control the revenue and expenditure of lunatic asylums; to create and manage other charitable institutions; and to have a limited supervision over the activities of the communes within the department. Furthermore, they were to apportion direct taxes among the subordinate arrondissements and to levy extraordinary taxes for local purposes.

Thus far the form of the government was only provisional, no permanent organization having been agreed upon. A temporary arrangement had been made at Bordeaux, whereby the work of reorganization might be perfected before a final settlement was reached regarding the constitution of France. The Rivet law of August 31, 1871, had conferred upon Thiers (PLATE I.) the title "President of the Republic," but this was intended only as a makeshift. A law of September 3 of the same year had made the "President" responsible to the Assembly, and decreed that he might be removed at will; while it also declared that the Assembly had the powers necessary to draft a constitution, and so to decide the all-important question of the form the government should take. After the questions of finance, the army, and local government

PLATE I.



Louis Adolphe Thiers, First President of the Third French Republic.

From the portrait by Louis Boulton.

History of the Third Republic, Vol. I, p. 100.

had been disposed of, the greater question of the constitution came to the front and for four years occupied the attention of all parties. Although Thiers was a Monarchist, an Orleanist by tradition, he early showed his intention of supporting a conservative republic; and a number of minor struggles which took place during the year 1871-72 showed also that the Monarchists on one side and the Irreconcilables on the other were opposing him. Twice he threatened to resign, but the Assembly could not spare him, and he continued in office. Finally, in his message of November 13, 1872, which as President of the provisional republic he delivered at the beginning of the new session, he declared that the constitutional problem could no longer be postponed. In the course of this message he pronounced the following memorable words: "The republic exists, it is the legal government of the country; to desire anything else will be to desire a revolution, which will be the most formidable of all. Let us not lose time in proclaiming it, but let us devote our time to determining its most necessary and desirable form. A committee named by you some months ago gave to it the name of the conservative republic. Let us hold to that title and make every endeavor that it be deserved. Every government should be conservative, and no society can live under a government of any other kind. The republic will be conservative, or it will not be at all."

This pronouncement from the lips of the old minister of the Orleanist dynasty struck the Monarchists as a bolt out of a clear sky and initiated the struggle which they were determined to make for the establishment of the monarchy. Spurred to action by the supplemental elections of 1871, whereby 85 deputies out of 140 chosen had been Republicans, they felt that no time should be lost, or the republic would be established in fact, even though it should not be acknowledged in law. Having already driven from the ministry which Thiers had selected February 19, 1871, such loyal supporters of the President as Jules Favre and Ernest Picard, they were now ready in 1873 to make a further advance. Led by such men as Duc de Broglie, Ernoul, Magne, and others, and able to command a majority so long as the three parties—the Legitimists, Orleanists, and Bonapartists—should hold together, they were in a position to make their power felt. Learning that Thiers had signed on March 15 a treaty with Germany for the evacuation of French territory, they determined to get rid of him altogether. The first attack was made on Grévy, who for two years had been the president of the Assembly and was one of Thiers' ablest supporters. Having charged him with holding the presidency as a sinecure, on April 4 they elected to the post of presiding officer Buffet, a member

of the Right, and then prepared for an attack on Thiers himself. And in the meantime the Radicals showed their hand. During the interval from April 8 to May 19, when the Assembly was not in session, they elected as one of the representatives from Paris an unknown, Barodet, instead of de Remusat, the minister of foreign affairs, whom Thiers strenuously supported. When the Assembly again met in May, this double attack was followed by a demand from the majority that Thiers dismiss his ministry and select another from the party of the Right. This he refused to do; and when on May 24, 1873, the Mon-



FIG. 2. Marshal MacMahon.

archists succeeded in carrying a vote of censure by a majority of sixteen voices, he immediately resigned. In his place the Monarchists elected Marshal MacMahon (Fig. 2), an old general of the empire, who had won his military honors on the battlefield of Magenta fifteen years before, and who was considered a convenient person to hold the place at the head of France until the time should come for the restoration of the royal office.

Inasmuch as this victory had been won by the three monarchical

parties acting together and with the Radicals, the new ministry was composed of members of the three monarchical groups. At its head was the Duc de Broglie (Fig. 3). Magnac became minister of finance; Benicé, minister of the interior; Ernoul, minister of justice; and Barbie, minister of public education. The policy of the new ministry was to war with the Republicans on the one hand, and to restore the authority of the church and the monarchy on the other. During the years 1873 and 1874 were presented and passed measures which were designed to throw the control of the administration into the hands of the Monarchists. Officials were changed, journals advocating the republic or criticising the



FIG. 3. Duc de Broglie.

government were either suppressed outright or forbidden a sale on the public streets, and the ministry took advantage of the state of siege still existing in certain provinces that had been connected with the Commune to repress republican demonstrations and to check freedom of speech.

At the same time the Broglie ministry showed itself lenient toward the Clericals and all Catholic agitation, thereby giving great encouragement to the Ultramontanes, who, since the war of 1870, the downfall of the temporal authority of the pope, and the inauguration of the *Kulturkampf* in Germany, had suffered defeat at every point. Confident of eventual victory, they now began to agitate for the overthrow of the

republic, the restoration of the temporal authority of the pope, the humbling of the new Protestant empire on the other side of the Rhine, and the establishment of a Carlist once more as the king of Spain. Irreconcilable enemies they were, not only of Germany, but also of France, Spain, and Italy; and during 1873 this Clerical faction, thinking that in the favoritism of the government they might find an opportunity of disregarding the law of the country, began a spectacular—and as for the moment a dangerous—agitation in the interest of monarchy and the pope. Crowds of Ultramontanes went on pilgrimages to the miraculous fountain of Lourdes, to La Salette, and on one special occasion to Paray-le-Monial, where was the monastery of the Sacré-Cœur under the charge of the Jesuits. There with a special ceremony France was devoted anew to the Sacred Heart; and the hymn, "*Oh! Dieu, sauvez la France et Rome,*" expressed the hopes and prayers of the pilgrims. Even in the Assembly, du Temple and de Belcastel labored to transform the Chamber into a religious retreat, and very nearly carried a vote "consecrating repentant France to the Sacred Heart of Jesus." During the Broglie régime the bishops in their pastorals and the religious journals in their commentaries were unmeasured in their denunciation of the enemies of the papacy, and the Clericals went beyond all bounds in their criticism of the German emperor and the policy of the German chancellor.

But the pilgrimages and the editorial comments of the *Univers* might not in themselves have been dangerous, had it not been that at the same time the Monarchists were making every effort to gain the control of the government. With the election of MacMahon and the installation of the Broglie ministry, they believed that they had the management of affairs entirely in their hands; but they had apparently failed to realize that the majority in the Assembly would exist only as long as the three monarchical parties worked together; that as soon as a question of first importance should arise, such as that of deciding which of the three claimants should become king, the unity would disappear and the majority would certainly cease to exist.

The head of the Legitimists was the Count of Chambord, son of the Duke of Berry and grandson of Charles X., who had been driven from the throne of France in 1830; the head of the Orleanists was the Count of Paris, the son of the Duke of Orleans and grandson of Louis Philippe, who had been overthrown in 1848; while the heir of the Bonapartists was the young Napoleon, son of Napoleon III., who had died in January, 1873. Thus there were three pretenders and but one crown; and though these partisans of monarchy had acted together in opposition to the republic, the real test of the situation was to come when an actual attempt

should be made to place one or other of their candidates on the throne of France. Each party would if possible prevent the success of either of the others, while the Republicans, though divided among themselves into Moderates and Radicals, would bitterly oppose any attempt to restore the monarchy.

The Legitimists and Orleanists had made in the past several efforts to unite upon one candidate and to agree to sink individual preferences in the interest of the royal cause. This had happened notably in 1850,



FIG. 4.—Count of Paris.

when a fusion between the two royal parties had been effected only to prove hopelessly weak in the presence of the greater strength of Louis Napoleon, afterward Napoleon III. Now, however, another attempt was to be made. On August 5, 1873, the Count of Paris (Fig. 4) visited Frohsdorf in Austria, where the Count of Chambord had his residence. The matter became the subject of earnest negotiation, and for the moment it seemed as if fusion would at last be effected. The question was simplified by the fact that the Count of Chambord, who had been married

for many years to the Austrian Archduchess d'Este, had no children, and would therefore on his death leave no heir to succeed him upon the throne. Furthermore, at this time he was fifty-three years of age and in poor health, and the outlook seemed favorable to a reconciliation whereby the older branch of the Bourbons should be recognized on condition that at the extinction of the older house the younger branch should come into possession of the royal title. A meeting of members of each branch was held at Salzburg, and a committee of nine was appointed by the Assembly to confer with the Count of Chambord regarding the conditions of the reconciliation. A definite agreement was reached, according to which the count was to become king, with the title Henry V., and the tricolor flag was to be retained as the flag of France. This was a compromise, inasmuch as the tricolor flag was the flag not of the Legitimists, but of the Revolution, and had been accepted by the Orleanists as a concession to their supporters in 1830, when Louis Philippe had ascended the throne. It was furthermore agreed that on the death of the Count of Chambord the Count of Paris should succeed to the throne. In presenting this plan to the Assembly the committee added further that the former body should not elect the king, but should call Henry V. to the throne by virtue of his inalienable and hereditary right; and that on his accession the king should present the constitution as a gift to the French people, and not receive it as something imposed upon him and limiting his royal prerogative.

In the autumn of 1873 everything seemed ready for the restoration of monarchy, and preparations were made in Paris and in the Assembly for the return to France of a Legitimist king. Suddenly, on October 27, in a famous letter to Chesnelong, the most zealous Legitimist member of the Assembly, the Count of Chambord showed the hopelessness of the whole endeavor. He expressed himself as willing to govern according to the constitution, but he declared that nothing in the world would induce him to renounce the flag of the Bourbons, the white flag sown with golden lilies, which he had received as a sacred heritage from his grandfather Charles X., for the tricolor, the symbol of the Revolution, stained with the blood of his ancestors. In reaching this decision the Count of Chambord may have been influenced by an unwillingness to assume the heavy responsibilities of king, and particularly king of a France in which but a small part of the people could ever become his loyal supporters; or with greater insight he may have realized that the principles he represented were impossible of application in a France which, since his ancestors had sat on the throne, had passed through three revolutions and two changes of dynasty. His letter dashed the

hopes of the Monarchists, for they knew the impossibility of obtaining in the Assembly a majority for the white flag. So strong was the loyalty in the army for the tricolor, said MacMahon, that were the white flag to be raised against it, the chassépôts would go off of themselves.

But now that the plans of the Legitimists and Orleanists had ended in a fiasco, the Bonapartists quickly pushed to the front to seize the crown for themselves. Knowing that Napoleon III. had a following among the lower classes and in the army that neither Legitimists nor Orleanists possessed, they had not ceased to hope for the restoration of the empire, and ever since the days of Sedan they had been working arduously, mainly through secret associations, to prepare the way to the throne for the exiled Napoleon. It has been said, and it is probably true, that Napoleon himself had never despaired of some day being reinstated on the throne of France. Certain is it that in 1872, when the plan was made for him to return to Paris, he was ready for the emergency. Knowing that he was to appear before the troops assembled for manoeuvres at Châlons and to enter Paris mounted at the head of his followers, he underwent a painful surgical operation for a disease which for years had prevented him from riding on horseback. From the effect of this operation he died, January 9, 1873; but his adherents, still undaunted, prosecuted his cause with the seventeen-year-old Prince Napoleon as their chief.

During the last months of the year 1873 the Assembly in France presented a strange spectacle. It seemed hopelessly divided into parties, no one of which was able to carry through any definite form of government. The Orleanists, or the Right Centre, having failed in their attempt at reconciliation with the Legitimists, hoped now to gain their end by other means, and determined to push ahead in their own interest without regard to any other party. When, therefore, in November, the ministry proposed that the term of MacMahon should be extended to ten years, the Orleanists assented to the plan, seeing in it the possibility of later replacing MacMahon, President of the republic, by the Count of Paris as constitutional king. The Moderate Republicans, the Left Centre, also favored the lengthening of MacMahon's term, because they hoped thus to consolidate more firmly the republican organization; but they were entirely unwilling that the term should be longer than five years. A compromise was reached; and by a vote of 378 to 310 on November 19, the law of the Septennate was passed, which provided for the prolongation of the President's powers for seven years. By the same law a commission of thirty was appointed to consider the question of constitutional laws, and to draft a fundamental instrument. At this

point the Orléanists exerted every effort to gain control, not only of the executive, but of the administrative machinery, through which they might influence the elections. A law was passed January 20, 1874, providing that the executive power and the prefects appointed by the executive should have the right to nominate the mayors in all the communes of France, thereby abrogating a portion of the law of 1871, and placing increasing powers in the hands of the government. A few months later they prepared to take another and more important step: to limit the right to vote, which had been practically universal since the rise of the second empire, to those only who had been in residence in their voting districts for three years. This was a revival of the famous electoral law of May 31, 1850, which had been a very potent factor in leading to and making possible the *coup d'état*, and which had at that time disfranchised nearly three million voters in France. But the Orléanists had overestimated their strength. Not only did the Bonapartists, to whom universal suffrage was the sole means of success, vote against them; but the Legitimists also, who were angry that the Orléanists should have supported the law of the Septennate, allied themselves with the Republicans. Having lost the support of both of these monarchical parties, the ministry was defeated by a vote of 381 to 317 on May 16, 1874. The Broglie cabinet resigned, and the members of the coalition which had overthrown Thiers only a year before had already shown their inability to act together in harmony.

But with the dissolution of the monarchical parties the Clerical party saw its chances of controlling the government gradually slipping away. During the months that followed the break between the Legitimists and Orléanists, the Clericals became desperate and continued more vehemently than ever their attack upon the enemies of ecclesiastical supremacy; and when Prussia by the passage of the Falk laws and the imperial government by the passage of the "expatriation law" openly declared war against the Roman Catholic Church, they directed their most furious attacks against the German government, and the German chancellor, Bismarck, became restless. The last German troops had been withdrawn from France in September, 1873; the "alliance of the three emperors," which had been formed in September, 1872, was beginning to show signs of weakness; and Russia was inclining toward England and was favoring the Orléanist cause in France and the Bourbon cause in Spain, both of which Bismarck, as a matter of diplomacy, was opposing. He preferred that a struggle should take place in France over the republic, rather than that a stable monarchy should be erected, which by favorable alliances might endanger the peace of Europe, and by raising as its battle-cry the

shibboleth of "revenge" might threaten the integrity of Germany. Germany at this time believed that even the Moderate Republicans were only waiting until France should feel herself strong enough to open, with prospect of success, the war that should obliterate the ignominy of the loss of Alsace-Lorraine and elevate her to the position she had held, of being the foremost power in Europe. Bismarck saw also with concern the evident friendliness of Alexander II. for the Count of Paris and the Broglie ministry, and heard with anger of the violent Clerical agitation which the Broglie ministry did not seem disposed to check. Moreover, at this very time he was engaged in a conflict with the German ambassador at Paris, Count Harry von Arnim, who, having no sympathy with the diplomatic policy of the chancellor, had written to the emperor that in his opinion the overthrow of Thiers was a triumph of the monarchical principle. In January, 1874, Bismarck wrote to von Arnim a sharp letter of rebuke, and in the same month spoke his mind freely regarding the attacks which the *Univers* was making so openly against Germany. "The German government," he wrote, "is penetrated with the desire of living at peace with France; but when it becomes no longer matter of doubt that a conflict is inevitable, it cannot either conscientiously or with regard to its duty await the moment most favorable to France. The chief enemy of Germany at this time is ecclesiastical Rome; there lies the danger threatening peaceful relations between Germany and France. As soon as France identifies herself with Rome, she becomes the sworn enemy of Germany. A France dominated by an ecclesiastical theocracy is incompatible with the peace of the world." This communication, intended for the ears of the Duc de Broglie, had apparently the desired effect. The *Univers* was suspended for two months for publishing the pastoral of the Bishop of Perigueux. Clerical opinion in France failed, for the moment, of a channel of expression; but public opinion could not be suppressed, and the people of France cherished nothing but bitterness toward the German chancellor.

With the fall of the Broglie ministry a new cabinet was formed on May 22, 1874, under General Cissey, who had served in the war of 1870 as commandant of a division of the army of the Rhine, and had been minister of war under Thiers. He persuaded to remain Decazes, Fourtou, and Magne, of the cabinet that Broglie had reorganized after the adoption of the Septennate, and was able by clever manipulation of the monarchical majority to postpone any consideration by the Assembly of the constitution. When the Left Centre demanded that the Assembly define its position, the majority voted against the motion; and when the Assembly was commanded by the Left to dissolve, that the country by a

general election might declare its opinion, it likewise refused. The situation was becoming grotesque. The majority would neither itself declare for the republic, nor would it allow the people at large to have the opportunity of expressing their sentiments. At this juncture the Bonapartists began anew their agitation, and through a central committee in Paris renewed the demand of an appeal to the people. The autumn before (December, 1873), Marshal Bazaine, who was made the scapegoat for all misfortunes and defeats which the third Napoleon had suffered, had been arraigned for high treason and sentenced to death. Later, his sentence was commuted to twenty years' imprisonment on the Isle of Sainte-Marguerite, near Cannes, whence he escaped on August 10, 1874, to Spain. But the trial and condemnation of Bazaine, which placed on him rather than on Napoleon III. the odium of defeat, benefited the Bonapartists, particularly that wing of the party led by Rouher, which was loyal to the Empress Eugénie and the young Prince Napoleon. In February, 1874, Émile Ollivier, in taking his seat in the French Academy, praised in unmeasured terms the dead emperor; while Rouher about the same time emphatically declared that the choice of the Assembly lay only between the empire and the republic. On March 16, the eighteenth birthday of the young prince, 6000 Bonapartists made a pilgrimage to Chislehurst, and there did homage to the youthful heir as Napoleon IV., receiving from him the assurance that success and right lay only in the plebiscite, and that if the urns for the eighth time returned the name of Napoleon, he was ready to accept the responsibility. Hopeful Bonapartists already planned the marriage of Prince Napoleon and the daughter of Marshal MacMahon, counting on the latter as the old-time companion of the elder Napoleon and the supporter of his son.

But the Right Centre, which preferred a republic to a re-established Napoleonic empire, took alarm at this open candidacy of the Bonapartists and at certain elections, notably in the department of Nièvre, which seemed to indicate a revival in some of the provinces of a sympathy with the Imperialists. During the latter part of the year 1874 the party underwent a rapid change of mind, and began to desire a constitution with as much zeal as it had formerly opposed it. Certain members of the Cissey ministry, because of their sympathy with the Bonapartists, were obliged to resign on July 20; but the party made sufficient gains in the elections during the summer and autumn to drive the Right, the Right Centre, and the Left Centre to a serious consideration of the form the constitution should take. Agreement among them was practically impossible, for the Right, the Legitimists, wishing the kingdom to be restored, were willing to recognize in the presidency of MacMahon only a personal

headship which might at any moment be handed over to a legitimate king; the Right Centre, the Orleanists, desired that at the expiration of seven years the question of headship should be submitted without condition to the chambers, hoping that thereby an Orleanist would be named as constitutional king; while the Left Centre demanded the conservative republic. A majority for any one of these propositions seemed impossible of attainment, and a kind of legal anarchy ensued. In his message of January 6, 1875, MacMahon emphasized the importance of two chambers, but advised that the country should remain free to change the form of the government at the end of the Septennate (1880) if it desired, a suggestion which called forth so definite a rebuff from the Left, the Legitimists, and the Bonapartists, that Cisseey resigned.

But neither Broglie nor Buffet wished to form a cabinet, and Cisseey was retained in office two months longer. On January 21 the debate on the constitution began, and on the 28th Laboulaye offered an amendment reading: "The government of the republic is composed of two chambers and one President." But this amendment was killed by an unfortunate speech of Louis Blanc's. On January 30, Wallon offered the following amendment: "The President of the republic is elected by the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies joined together in a National Assembly; he shall be elected for seven years, and may be re-elected." This was carried by 353 votes to 352. The importance of the Wallon amendment lies in the fact that it recognized the name "republic," which no one had hitherto been willing to use; and it guaranteed that at the end of the Septennate a President should be elected, and that no one else, neither king nor emperor, should be at the head of France. This result was made possible by the alliance with the Left Centre of the Constitutional Orleanists, a small group from the Right Centre, led by Duc d'Andilly-Pasquier, and by the willingness of Gambetta, the leader of the Left, to sacrifice his more radical views for the sake of harmony.

The work thus auspiciously begun was carried during the following months to completion. In February many difficulties arose in connection with the composition of the Senate, for an hereditary body was not to be thought of, and the existence of universal equality in France had removed the conditions necessary for the establishment of the more conservative chamber. The Orleanists wished the senators to be named by the President, while the Left wished them to be elected by the same constituency that elected the deputies. The Bonapartists took sides with the Left, but the Duprat motion that the senators be elected by the people was defeated by 322 votes to 310. A compromise was arranged between the Constitutional Orleanists and Gambetta, and after consider-

able debate an act was passed on February 24, according to which 75 of the 300 senators were to be chosen by the National Assembly for life, while the remainder, one-third of whom were to be renewed once every three years, were to be elected for nine years by special electoral colleges in the departments, made up of representatives of the people. Thus the Senate became, as Gambetta expressed it, "The Grand Council of the Communes of France." On the same day an act on "the organization of the government" was passed, and four months later a third act, on the "relations between the powers of government" (July 16, 1875), thus completing the fundamental laws of France and establishing the constitution of the third republic.

Thus, after four years of uncertainty, the republic received a definite constitution, yet at the same time the country retained in full the administrative apparatus of the overthrown monarchy, the centralized authority of government, and the inadequate local government, the remedying of which was to become so important an issue in the future. On March 10, 1875, the Cissey ministry, which was holding office only at the request of the Assembly until the constitutional questions should be settled, resigned, and Buffet, president of the Assembly and a former Orleanist, formed a new cabinet composed of Decazes, Cissey, and other members of the retiring ministry. Of the new members, Dufaure took the portfolio of justice, Léon Say of finance, Wallon of education, and de Meaux of commerce. Of all its acts the most important was the education law of July 12, 1875, which disclosed the strong sympathies the ministry had for the Reactionaries and the Clericals, and supplemented the acts of the Broglie ministry two years before. Introduced by Joubert, the measure sought under the guise of free education to increase the educational powers of the Roman Catholic Church, by handing over to it the right to erect free universities, to determine the courses of study, and to grant degrees. This act, which seemed to be an unwarranted concession to the Clericals, added to the unpopularity of the Assembly in the eyes of the country. But one other measure, that continuing the state of siege in Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, and Versailles, which had been established five years before in consequence of the insurrection of the Commune, cast a reflection on the people at large and was equally unpopular. When, therefore, on December 31, 1875, the National Assembly, which had sat since 1871, was at last dissolved, a feeling of relief and satisfaction pervaded the country. The first great crisis in the history of the republic had been passed.

During the earlier part of the year a serious diplomatic difficulty had given rise to a fear in many quarters of a war between France and Ger-

many. The more remote cause of the trouble was the adoption of the army laws of 1872 and 1873; the immediate cause, the reorganization law of 1875. This measure, known as the *cadre* law of March 12, provided for a very considerable enlargement of the army, which seemed to many Germans, particularly to military officers, a burden too great for France to bear for any considerable length of time. The new law increased the three battalions into which each regiment was divided, to four, by the addition of a skeleton battalion which was not only to contain 1000 men, but was also to form a framework wide enough to receive additions of half-drilled men, and in case of war was to augment the regular troops. By this means the promoters of the law seem to be providing for hastily raised levies, which would be needed only in case of actual hostilities. To the German military staff this measure seemed but the prelude to a war of "revenge," and Moltke reported to Bismarck that no other object could be conceived for the passage of the law. The German government, already aroused by the attacks of the Clericals in France and Belgium, instructed Hohenlohe, the successor of von Arnim at Paris, to present this view of the case to Decazes, the French minister of foreign affairs, and beg him to take some action. Decazes refused; whereupon there appeared in German newspapers, notably the *Post*, articles of a hostile, warlike tone, denouncing the French armaments, declaring that France was already in league with Austria and Italy, and affirming that in 1871 Germany had treated France too leniently. Bismarck at once sent Radowitz to the czar and communicated with England. France likewise turned to Russia, and through Leflo, ambassador at the court of St. Petersburg, sought the aid of the czar. Thiers, too, added the weight of his voice. From both England and Russia came definite assurances of their opposition to war with France; and after a visit of Alexander II. to Berlin in May, reports of war ceased. The warlike German articles were inspired, so the French believed, by Bismarck, and paid for out of the Reptile fund; but just how far Bismarck was connected with them may never be known. Both in a speech of 1886 and in his memoirs he denied such connection, and it seems reasonable to believe that he was not seriously influenced by the report of the general staff, inasmuch as at this time he was deeply involved in the *Kulturkampf*. However, though Emperor William afterward declared that these rumors of war were nothing but manoeuvres of the Stock Exchange, France and European diplomats generally believed that only the admonitions of the czar and of Queen Victoria had restrained Germany from war.

But whatever may have been the opinion of other nations regard-

ing the internal affairs of France, there could remain no doubt as to whether or not the establishment of a republican government met with the approval of the French nation. The general elections, held in the opening months of the year 1876, showed that the people had returned to the Chamber of Deputies 363 Republicans, 20 Irreconcilables, 90 Monarchists, and 80 Bonapartists, thus giving to the Chamber of Deputies a strong Republican coloring. Already before its dissolution had the Assembly elected as life-senators a majority of Moderate Republicans—Audiffret-Pasquier, Périet, Laboulaye, Lanfrey, Picard, Jules Simon, Crémieux, Littré, Lavergne, Wallon, General Changarnier, Chanzy, and others—and had refused to elect both Buffet, the head of the ministry, and Broglie, the former minister. However, the colleges in the departments and colonies had sent up in the elections of January 30 more than 120 Legitimists and Orleanists and 36 Bonapartists, giving in the Senate a monarchical majority of nearly 40 votes. Buffet, having failed again of election both as senator and deputy, resigned, and was replaced by Dufaure, who, as representing the Left Centre, upheld a Moderate Republican policy and showed himself more ready than had been Buffet to comply with the demands of the Left and Gambetta, its chief. On March 7, when the chambers were opened, Audiffret-Pasquier was chosen president of the Senate, and Jules Grévy of the Chamber of Deputies. Thus organized, the first effort of the majority was to undo, as far as possible, the work of reaction initiated by the earlier ministries of Broglie and Buffet. The state of siege in Paris, Lyons, Versailles, and Marseilles was raised, and these cities were restored to their full rights and privileges. The Radicals then demanded amnesty for the Communists, a measure which Victor Hugo defended in the Senate, and Raspail in the lower House, but which, to the chagrin of the Dufaure ministry, was defeated in both chambers. A board of pardons was, however, appointed, consisting of the presidents of both Houses and the mayors of Paris, which in the course of the year granted over nine hundred requests for pardon. But the question remained unsettled for four years more. The press law was modified, prefects and mayors were removed in the interest of the Republicans, and the right of the communes to elect their mayors, which had been taken away by the Broglie ministry, was restored to the municipalities.

But the chief struggle during the tenure of the Dufaure ministry centred in the attempt to limit the Clericals in their control of education. The first project, presented by Waddington, minister of public instruction, to confer the exclusive right of granting academic degrees upon the

state, was carried in the Chamber of Deputies by a majority of over 200 votes; but, opposed vigorously in the Senate by Bishop Donaloup as an attack on religion and the church, it was lost by the narrow majority of five. This second defeat for the ministry made evident the fact that in the war with the Clericals the Senate could not be depended on to co-operate. About the same time a plan was made to reform the school system. On investigation it was discovered that of the 36,000 school districts of France, 17,320 required new school-houses, and 19,857 had no adequate equipment; that 624,733 children attended no school at all, and that the attendance of such as professed to be scholars was irregular and continued only till their eleventh year. The Senate agreed to Waddington's demand that the school appropriation be raised from 2,000,000 francs to more than 10,000,000, for the purpose of building school-houses, establishing seventy extraordinary professorships in the universities, creating of scholarships for needy students, and other similar purposes. But the end of the Dufaure ministry was at hand. When in September, on the occasion of the funeral of the composer Felicien David, the commanding officer of the military escort refused to accompany the remains because of the absence of religious ceremonies, the matter was made the subject of an interpellation in the Chamber. The Dufaure ministry had already been defeated on the question of amnesty for the Communists, and had had trouble over a budget question, the Senate claiming the right to restore to the budget the appropriations struck out by the lower House, a procedure unprecedented in other countries. When, therefore, differences arose in the cabinet over this affair of Felicien David, Dufaure resigned, and after some delay and a great deal of hesitation MacMahon entrusted the formation of a new cabinet on December 12, 1876, to Jules Simon, a Republican.

With Jules Simon (Fig. 5) as president of the Council, Grévy as president of the Chamber of Deputies, and Gambetta as leader of the large Republican majority, the final struggle of the Conservatives for the control of the government was to be a bitter one. The Monarchists had a majority in the Senate; they still believed that the establishment of the republic had been largely an accident; and with MacMahon as President, they counted on being able to hold their own until popular opinion should express itself favorably to their cause. Again the Clericals began their agitations. When the Holy Father, in the papal allocution of March 12, 1877, complained that he was subject to foreign domination and no longer enjoyed the freedom essential to the proper administration of the church, the Ultramontanes in France tried to prevail upon the

government to secure to the pope his temporal power and his independence. Petitions were circulated; again the bishops in their pastorals began a vicious onslaught, this time upon the Italian government; the Bishop of Nevers, calling upon the mayors to co-operate, organized a demonstration in his diocese; and a "Catholic Assembly," which met in Paris in April, planned to circulate a petition to the government, demanding that France interfere in the affairs of Italy in order to obtain the release of the pope. This agitation finally aroused the attention of the chambers and the government. The Simon ministry forbade the circulation of the petition, and commanded the bishops to cease their invective



FIG. 5. — Jules Simon.

tives and bring to an end their interference with the foreign policy of the government. Every day it became evident that this attitude of the Ultramontanes was bringing inevitable retribution, and that when the reaction should begin the ecclesiastical party would be the sufferers.

In the Chamber the attack against the Clericals was led by Gambetta, who demanded the strict carrying-out of the concordat and the organic laws regulating the relations of church and state, and laid stress upon the necessity of repressing by legal means the agitation of the Ultramontane party. On March 24 he said: "When we speak of the Clerical party, we address ourselves neither to religion, nor to sincere Catholics, nor to the national clergy. That which we desire is to bring back the

clergy into the church and to prevent the transformation of the pulpit into a political tribune; to arouse respect for electoral liberty; to guarantee free combat to political opinions which have nothing to do with ecclesiastical questions." On May 3 Leblond interpellated the ministry, asking what measures it thought of taking in order to repress the Ultramontane agitation. Simon stated that the Central Catholic Assembly had been dissolved, that attempts of the laity to use the churches for political purposes had been prevented, that the Bishop of Nevers had been reproved by the minister of justice, and that the circulation of petitions had been forbidden; but at the same time he declared that the pope could in no way be called a prisoner, inasmuch as the guarantee law assured his spiritual independence. The pope, hearing of this statement, complained that Simon had charged him with falsehood. On May 4 Gambetta, discoursing upon the interpellation of Leblond, made his famous speech against the Clerical party. "The clearest result," he said, "of the Vatican Council of 1870 has been to shatter the concordat, to put in question that treaty, that reciprocal contract which governs the relations between the priesthood and the empire, between church and state, besides which there are but two other relations, either exclusion on one side or separation on the other. But as we deem that anything is better than these two solutions, we wish to make, as regards the concordat and the articles which accompany it, a vigorous, lasting, and repressive application of the laws which stand in our codes for the defence of our liberties and for the protection of our ecclesiastical independence. I place a dilemma before you: either cease to be Frenchmen or obey the law. . . . You perceive then, you grant then, that there is one thing which equally with the old régime is repugnant to the country, repugnant to the peasants of France—that is, the domination of Clericalism. You have reason to think so, and because of that I speak from the height of this tribune, in order that your condemnation in the presence of universal suffrage may be precisely the same. And I do not traduce the deepest sentiments of the people of France in saying of Clericalism as one day said my friend Peyrat: Clericalism, that is our enemy!" On the conclusion of Gambetta's speech, the Chamber then passed the order of the day against the petitions of the Ultramontanes.

The Monarchists now exerted all their influence to force MacMahon to act in this emergency and rid them of this Republican rule. Broglie, Bishop Dunaloup, and others, public as well as secret counsellors, advised the President to restore the "moral order" and place power in the hands of those who had controlled the government after the fall of Thiers in 1873. Whether the President was acting under the advice of these

counsellors, or whether, exasperated by the discussions in the Chamber, he acted on his own initiative, is uncertain; in any case he sent a letter on May 16 to Simon, withdrawing from him his confidence and practically asking for his resignation. Charged with disregarding the opinions of the President, who wished that offences against a foreign sovereign should be dealt with in the correctional court of the police, and also of inability to control the debates in the Chamber and to check the growth of Radical influence, Simon at once resigned. The new cabinet was composed of Broglie, its head, two Legitimists, three Bonapartists, and one Orleanist; but inasmuch as this ministry could not under any circumstances obtain a majority in the Chamber, its appointment, as well as the dismissal of Simon, was greeted by the Republicans and the country at large as a breach of the parliamentary institutions established by the constitution. When Gambetta moved and the Chamber adopted the motion that it had confidence only in a cabinet based on Republican principles, Fourtou, minister of the interior, replied: "We have not your confidence, and you have not ours." The issue was soon to be decided by the electors, for on June 25 the Chamber was dissolved.

During the months from May to October the new government brought every possible pressure to bear to influence the elections. It swept from office all prefects and subprefects suspected of devotion to the republic. It urged the correctional courts to pursue with exceptional rigor the Republican press, and to seize and bring to trial all colporters distributing writings hostile to the new government. It supported official candidacies by posting in the mayors' offices the names of candidates "of the government of Marshal MacMahon." It sent confidential circulars to its representatives in the provinces, and allowed the bishops to issue electoral instructions to their faithful parishioners, urging them to vote for the official candidates. But the Republicans determined to meet these violent and excessive measures by a strictly legal campaign. Gambetta organized one general committee of resistance, composed of representatives of the chief journals of Paris, and another composed both of those functionaries whom Fourtou had dismissed and of many young barristers, whose mission it was to scatter thousands of newspapers and pamphlets through the country districts. Each of the 363 Republican deputies became in the chief town of his canton the head of a Republican committee, organized to instruct the voters on the issue of the day. The office of the *République française* became the central meeting-place in Paris of the Republican forces; and Crémieux, Senard, Henri Martin, Émile de Girardin, Thiers, and Gambetta entered the lists and spoke to public audiences. During the campaign Thiers died at the age of eighty

years, full of confidence in the eventual success of the Republican cause, and his funeral was made the occasion of a great Republican demonstration. For the moment it looked as if the death of the great leader would be a serious disaster; but Gambetta carried on the struggle. Already at Lille had he given the battle-cry to the campaign, when he had terminated his speech with these words: "When France has made its sovereign voice to be heard, then, gentlemen, believe me, it will be necessary either to submit or to resign." For this speech, which greatly annoyed the Duc de Broglie, Gambetta on September 11 was condemned to three months' imprisonment and a fine of 20000 francs; and the *République française*, which published the speech, was likewise condemned. But the sentences were never carried out, for the popular discontent with the policy of the government was so great that the ministry dare not risk a test of its temper at this time.

The elections resulted in victory for the Republicans, although the defeat of the government was not as decisive as many had hoped for. The voters returned 320 Republicans, a falling-off of 43 from the number in the former Chamber, and 210 Monarchists, a gain of 50. Yet when it is remembered that during the elections the government had characterized the Republicans as dangerous revolutionists, had removed 217 prefects and subprefects, had encouraged the prosecution of 2700 persons for freedom of speech, imposing in all more than 1,000,000 francs in fines, and had persuaded the people that it was their religious duty to vote for the official candidates, it is remarkable that their gains were not greater. The Republicans had a good majority, and knowing that as a result of the last elections the local councils, which would elect the senators, had become largely Republican, they felt confident of gaining a control of the Senate in 1879, when that body would be renewed. Of this fact at least they were certain: that the *coup d'état* of May 16 had failed, and that the Monarchists could not control the Chamber any better after this date than before. The Broglie ministry, loath to confess its defeat, still remained in office. In desperation, the extreme Monarchists, after the chambers came together on November 7, proposed another dissolution and another appeal to the country. But this state of affairs could not last. The Republican majority was large and determined, and the small group of Constitutional Orleanists was unwilling to take extreme measures. A motion proposed on November 12 by Albert Grévy, brother of the president of the Chamber, to the effect that a commission of thirty-two members be appointed to conduct a parliamentary inquiry into the acts of the government during the elections, was supported by Gambetta and adopted by a vote of 312 to 205. The

commission was duly appointed, and as a result of its investigation more than fifty members of the Chamber were unseated. Nothing was now left to the Broglie-Fourtou ministry to do but resign, and resign it did on November 23, 1877. But MacMahon, still disregarding the parliamentary right of the majority to control the ministry, nominated on the same day a cabinet composed for the most part of Reactionists and entirely of men outside Parliament and led by General Rochebouet. On the motion of Jules Ferry the Chamber, by a vote of 323 to 208, refused "to enter into relations" with this extra-parliamentary ministry, on the ground that "it saw in the constitution of this cabinet a disavowal of parliamentary principles."

Marshal MacMahon was in a difficult position: one party urged him, in the interest of the public weal, to dismiss this cabinet and form another from the Left; the other, that of the Élysée, declared that submission would be the death of the Conservative party and the ruin of the country. The extremists of the Right, led by Fourtou and General Rochebouet, advocated a *coup d'état*—that is, a state of siege and a plébiscite; but the Constitutional Orleanists (Wallonists), led by Duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier and Bocher, refused to assent to a new dissolution of the Chamber. The Bonapartist journals advocated even more criminal measures: the opening of credits by decrees, the arrest of Gambetta and his colleagues, the purging of the Chamber by force. But MacMahon had no intention of going to this extreme. He had a policy, and it was a legal one. "I am none the less firmly resolved to-day than yesterday," he had said on May 18, when proroguing the chambers, "to respect and uphold the institutions which are the work of the Assembly, from which I hold my power and which has set up the republic. All my councillors are, like myself, determined loyally to put in practice these institutions, and are incapable of aiming any blow at them." Unfortunately his acts had not always borne out the high principles embodied in this speech; but at this juncture he seems to have appreciated the seriousness of the occasion, and to have broken from the influences that surrounded him. He had no desire to become a dictator or to provoke a civil war, and he saw that the acuteness of the crisis was increasing the sufferings of the country and extending the prevailing discontent. Finally on December 4 the Chamber took definite action: it refused to vote the budget until a Republican cabinet should be appointed; and Gambetta seized the opportunity to announce that the Republican majority would not yield until it knew whether it was the nation that governed, or a man who ruled. MacMahon conferred with the leaders of the Right; but, finding there only indecision, he listened to the argu-

ments of Duclerc, Grévy, and Audiffret-Pasquier, and on December 13 instructed Dufaure to form a cabinet. The *coup d'état* of May 16 had been prevented by the unity and strength of the Republican majority; Gambetta, Grévy, Audiffret-Pasquier, and their colleagues were the victors, and the Conservative party had been definitely beaten.

The victory was, however, not complete, for the Presidency and the Senate were still in the hands of the Monarchists. But the new ministry, composed entirely of Republicans, of whom five were Protestants, began at once the work of reorganization. Sweeping changes were made in the personnel of the prefects, eighty-two out of eighty-seven of whom were removed from their posts to make place for men with Republican sympathies. Dufaure at once introduced a bill of amnesty for all political offences of the year 1877, and in June, 1878, the President pardoned 1300 Communists, thus increasing the number liberated to more than 2000. Freycinet, minister of public works, presented a scheme for building 8000 miles of railways and canals, at a cost of five billions of francs; and the Chamber granted him an appropriation of 500,000,000 francs for the purchase and completion of private lines. Marshal MacMahon remained at the head of the state, partly to do the honors of the World Exposition which opened on May 1, 1878, partly in the hope that the triennial elections of the Senate, which were to take place in 1879, might restore the power of the Conservatives. The year 1878 was one of peace, prosperity, and political calm. The President worked in harmony with the Chamber and the ministry, and sanctioned all measures that were brought before him. He greeted the guests of the nation and shared in the sentiments of pride which all Frenchmen felt at the recognition of France by the international world. The exposition stilled for the moment the hatred of parties, testified to the rapid recovery of France from her misfortunes, and brought to Paris from abroad men of all ranks, who by their presence seemed to sanction the Republican victory. Of all the chief states of the world, Germany alone did not participate.

In France, MacMahon was President; but no man held so prominent a place as did Gambetta, who was everywhere received loyally and enthusiastically. On every occasion he reiterated his policy of national reconciliation, and these speeches advocating moderation, peace, and order contributed in no small degree to the success of the exposition. Moreover, his speeches, in which he emphasized the need of upholding the constitution and of increasing the strength of the Republican party, influenced both the supplemental elections to the Chamber held in December, 1878, and the renewal of the third of the Senate of January,

1879. He urged that the magistracy be reformed ; that the reorganization of the army be completed, and that the army be placed above party control ; and above all, that the relations between church and state be regulated strictly in conformity with the principles of the concordat. In denouncing the Clericals he offended Fourtou, with whom he fought a duel on November 18 ; shortly afterward, as advocate in the suit for libel brought by his friend Challemel-Lacour against the Legitimist journal *La France Nouvelle*, he seized the opportunity to plead for a revision of the press law and urge the abolition of imprisonment for press offences. And his influence was not small. The elections of 1878, which were held for the purpose of filling the places in the Chamber of Deputies left vacant by those who had been unseated for employing illegal electoral methods, resulted in raising the number of Republican deputies from 320 to 370 ; while the renewal of the third of the Senate on January 5, 1879, gave to the Republicans a majority of 58 in that body. Then MacMahon, finding himself isolated, took advantage of a difference which arose between himself and the Chamber regarding the removal of certain Bonapartist generals from the army, and resigned on January 30, 1879. Jules Grévy (PLATE II.), president of the Chamber, was made President of the republic, and Gambetta, who had refused to stand as a candidate for that office, was elected by a large majority president of the Chamber in Grévy's place ; and on the resignation of Dufaure, a staunch Republican, Waddington was instructed to form a ministry. Thus the entire governmental machinery came into the hands of the Republican party, and a new and difficult era for France began, the era of the democratic republic.

The failure of the Monarchists to effect a *coup d'état* on the 16th of May and the Republican victory that followed were unfortunate in so far as they caused the elated Republican majority, in excess of anti-Clerical zeal, to adopt a policy unnecessarily severe and thoroughgoing. During the years 1878 and 1879, Gambetta, the leader of the Republican party, was at the height of his popularity and power, and he it was who in large measure controlled the programme of the government through what is known as the dictatorship of persuasion. Prompted by Gambetta, the Waddington ministry first undertook to bring about an impeachment of the cabinets of Broglie and Rochebouet ; but this plan failed, and the Republicans were obliged to be content with a hostile resolution, which was passed by the Chamber and was afterward posted throughout the communes. The second project of the ministry, the transference of the chambers from Versailles to Paris, was accomplished on November 1, 1879 ; and also the demand of the Radicals, that a full

PLATE II.



Jules Grévy, Third President of the Third French Republic.

From portrait by Léon Bonnat.

History of Art Museum, Vol. XX, p. 100.

and unconditional amnesty be granted to the Communists still remaining in exile, was granted, although the bill as passed excluded all those condemned for offences against the common law. At this time President Grévy pardoned nearly 4000 persons; and the next year, in consequence of a measure adopted by both chambers, granting full amnesty for all condemned in the insurrection of 1870 and 1871, the Communists, after four years of controversy, were restored to their full rights and privileges as French citizens. They showed little gratitude, however, Rochefort in the *Intransigeant* at once opening a campaign upon Gambetta and his opportunism; and others, notably Louise Michel, Blanqui, Pyat, in violent and threatening language, attacking the "bourgeois government."

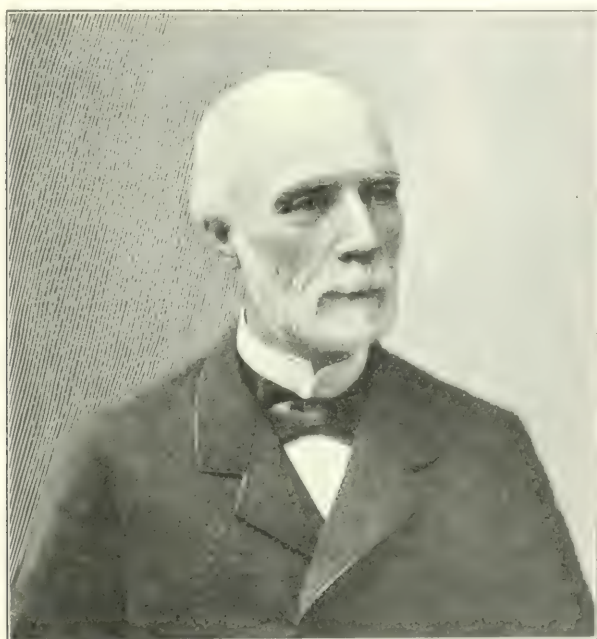


FIG. 6. - Ch. de Freycenet.

The fourth, and by far the most important, of the reform measures of the ministry was that concerning education, presented on March 15, 1880, by Jules Ferry, minister of public instruction. In it he demanded that the clergy should be excluded from the Council of Education; that the religious orders generally should be forbidden to maintain universities or grant degrees, thus reducing these institutions to the rank of private schools, and that all orders not legally recognized should be prohibited from conducting any secondary education whatever. This last

provision, known as Article 7, was especially directed against the colleges of the Jesuits, whose presence in France had not been authorized since their expulsion in 1767. The whole measure, which provided for free, obligatory, and lay instruction in France, was passed by the Chamber, but Article 7 was defeated in the Senate. While the discussion was taking place, Waddington was replaced by Freycinet (Fig. 6) (December 28, 1879), of the Republican Union, Gambetta's particular group, and the new minister took up the question where his predecessor had left it. When interpellated in the Chamber as to what he would do regarding Article 7, he replied that he would enforce the old laws. But there existed in France, it was estimated, 500 congregations with 22,000 members, of which the Jesuits alone controlled 74 schools; and the laws could not be enforced without a struggle. A veritable *Kulturkampf* followed. On March 30 Grévy ordered the Jesuits to disperse, and all other orders unrecognized by law to apply to the government within three months for legal recognition. The Jesuits refused to go. Protests were raised by the bishops and the heads of the religious orders against the March decrees, but without avail. During June and September the houses of the Jesuits were closed by the police and themselves driven forth and expatriated. The Jesuits of Toulouse, who returned, were dispersed on October 15. At first no steps were taken to expel the other congregations, and negotiations were opened with the Vatican in the hope that some compromise might be effected whereby those religious bodies still remaining in France would recognize their subordination to the laws of the state. On this question a difference of opinion arose between Freycinet and others in his cabinet—Constans, Cazot, and Farre, followers of Gambetta—Freycinet wishing to compromise, the others to close all the religious houses unconditionally. The situation was further complicated by Freycinet's criticism of Gambetta's speech at Cherbourg on August 9, which he characterized as bellicose, the speech of a mere adventurer. Gambetta had spoken of the reparations for which "we and our children may hope, since the future is closed against no man." In consequence of these difficulties Freycinet resigned on September 19, and was succeeded by Jules Ferry (Fig. 7); but in order that Freycinet's downfall might not seem to give support to the German view, based on Gambetta's speech, that France was on the eve of a war of "revenge," a diplomat of unmistakably peaceful sympathies, St. Hilaire, was selected as minister of foreign affairs.

The Ferry ministry, undisturbed by the scruples that had troubled Freycinet, now proceeded to carry out the March decrees. In November a systematic attack was made on the cloisters and monasteries of the

Carmelites, Franciscans, Capuchins, Dominicans, Marists, Redemptorists, and others, and nearly 300 institutions were closed. The monks barricaded their buildings and locked themselves in their cells, from which they had to be removed by force. The monks of the Premonstrants at Tarrascon were besieged for forty days, during which time they were often aided by the neighboring peasants and by prominent royalists, many of whom joined the brothers and stood the dangers of the siege. Rather than take part in the attack, many prefects resigned, and others less scrupulous were excommunicated. The pope applauded the defence of the orders, and through the nuncio in Paris condemned bitterly the



FIG. 7.—Jules Ferry.

March decrees. This secularizing of the property of the monasteries was followed by further projects for laicizing education. Secondary education for girls, which the clergy had opposed so strongly in the days of Victor Duruy, Napoleon III.'s minister of education, was established by the law of December 21, 1880. The number of primary schools was increased the following March; and the next year, by Ferry's famous measure of March 23, 1882, instruction was declared to be compulsory, to the extent that every child from its sixth to its thirteenth year was required to attend school; to be lay, in that elementary education was to be entirely free from religious teaching; and to be gratuitous, in

that the state was to provide education, and school-fees were to be abolished. For the building of new school-houses the state granted the communes 120,000,000 francs. Finally, before the end of the decade, the work was completed by the acts of October 30, 1886, and July 19, 1889. Of these the first secularized the common schools, enacted that every commune should maintain at least one common school, and that only laymen who had received a regular diploma from the government should be teachers; while the second systematized the payment of salaries. Through these acts the schools of France increased in utility and the institutions of higher learning took on a new lease of life.

The downfall of the first Ferry ministry on November 14, 1881, which was due in chief part to the foreign policy that the minister had inaugurated in Tunis, brought Gambetta at last to the front as the head of a new cabinet. Since 1879 the great Republican had been incessantly under attack. On one side stood the Irreconcilables, of whom Clemenceau and Rochefort were the most tenacious and bitter; on the other, the royalists and the clergy, who were only too ready to take their revenge for the part Gambetta had played in the events following the 16th of May. In the journals especially, the war was carried on. The Right and the Irreconcilables declared that Gambetta had been the power behind the throne; that he had thrown out one minister after another as soon as each showed himself uncompliant to his will; that he was responsible for the fall of Freycinet, and that though he himself was not willing to govern, he wished that all the others should govern according to his views. They sought for ulterior meanings in all his addresses, and talked about *la dictature oblique*, the *pouvoir occulte*. In reply, Gambetta said on February 21, 1881: "I defy any minister, any agent of France, either within or without, in the bureaux or on mission, to say on what day or at what hour I have given such instructions or such mandates. I defy them to declare it to be true that there has ever existed, side by side with the government of the republic, a *cabinet occulte* or a *politique occulte*, which has had an anti-national policy." Still further, the Irreconcilables declared that Gambetta was aiming at the Presidency of the republic, and not a Presidency dependent on the chambers, but one that was invested with unlimited powers over them, that would gratify his yearning for a war of revenge. The journal *La Vérité*, a few days after the Cherbourg speech, printed a letter without date, in which Gambetta had expressed a desire "to seize the lost provinces, which had been violently snatched away, and to make the restored integrity of France the gage of a European peace." The journal did not,

however, state that the letter had been written in 1871, and not in 1880. On the occasion when General Thomassin was sent to Athens, Gambetta was charged with wishing to engage the country in a warlike policy, and the *Figaro* even went so far as to publish a brochure entitled "Gambetta, that is war?"

The attack became even more ferocious when, before the elections of August, Gambetta brought forward a measure in the Chamber abolishing election by *arrondissement* and substituting therefor election by general list (*scrutin de liste*). Whatever hidden motive Gambetta may have had in this, certain is it that election by general list, the system whereby the names of the deputies to be voted for in a department were placed on the general ticket for which every elector in the department was to cast his vote, was believed by the Republicans to be nearer the intent of universal suffrage than was the other, according to which the elector could vote for but a single deputy. But Gambetta was anticipating his elevation as prime minister; and as he desired above all else a homogeneous Republican majority with which to work, and believed that *scrutin d'arrondissement* favored the Conservative cause and factions, while the *scrutin de liste* favored the Liberal cause and a united party, he threw all his weight on the side of this measure.

But the Right and the Irreconcilables looked at the matter differently. They saw that the *scrutin de liste* would increase Gambetta's power; and believing that he had in his pocket the lists all ready, with his own name at the head of each, and that he had made all arrangements to stand in 66 departments, they feared lest he were planning to be elected, as it were, by a plébiscite and become dictator of France. When on May 19, 1881, the lower House carried the measure by a good majority, all the journals of the opposition announced the imminent dictatorship of Gambetta; and when on his visit to his native place, Cahors, May 28, he received a reception so enthusiastic as to call from him a speech in which he counselled moderation and referred to the man as nothing, and principles as everything, the Irreconcilables spoke of his "insolent triumph" and called him the "czar of Cahors." The effect of this assault on Gambetta appeared in the Senate, where on June 9 *scrutin de liste* was rejected by a vote of 145 to 114—Simon, Waddington, and other Moderate Republicans opposing the change. The elections of August were held, therefore, in accordance with the old method. Gambetta gave up all hopes of obtaining the compact Republican majority with the help of which he would have been able to carry out a definite programme. In his electoral manifesto of August 21 he said: "That which republican France wishes is a government strong and stable, a government which

has a will." At Belleville he eulogized "opportunism," showing that the country owed to that practical policy the acceptance of the republican régime by an immense majority, the cessation of the fears of the bourgeoisie, the entering of the new social classes into the elective councils, and the defeat of the Monarchists on the 16th of May; in a word, he declared that the policy of opportunism had been throughout a policy of results. At a second meeting at Belleville he was insulted by the Irreconcilables and Bonapartists, and refrained from speaking. But in spite of bitter opposition the elections were all in his favor; for but 90 of the opposition succeeded, and of these 45 were Bonapartists, whereas he himself was elected at Belleville, and from all France nearly 460 Republicans were chosen.

On November 14, 1881, he became the head of the ministry—the "great ministry," as it had been called by anticipation. Gambetta had desired to include in it men of all shades of republican opinion; but he approached Ferry, Freycinet, and Léon Say in vain. The latter refused, not so much because he did not trust Gambetta's general policy, as because he was opposed to his views on the conversion of the 5 per cent. consols and the nationalization of railroads. Gambetta was therefore forced to select men from his own party group who were in accord with him and his views; an unfortunate necessity, for he had against him from the outset not only the white and red Irreconcilables, but also all the deputies, nearly 200 in number, who followed the lead of Léon Say and Grévy; and the enemy seemed to have grounds for saying that Gambetta had no use for men of independent wills as colleagues. Furthermore, when Gambetta himself took the portfolio of foreign affairs, grave fears were entertained both at home and in Germany that his policy was one of "revenge." The Germans in particular looked on him as desiring to undertake the "recovery" of France, to begin the *Rachekrieg* against the fatherland, to effect the reconquest of Alsace and Lorraine. When he sent, as minister to St. Petersburg, Count Chaudordy, a so-called Prussian-hater and friend of the Prussophile Ignatieff, they saw the beginning of a Franco-Russian alliance against Germany; and when he favored the maintenance of the friendly relations with England, and opposed her withdrawing from Egypt, he was stigmatized as seeking "to kindle from the sparks of the Egyptian disorders a general conflagration," and to draw England, as well as Russia, into a policy of war. The truth of all these charges must be left for the future to discover, for the world is not yet willing to accept the unproven statements of Gambetta's enemies, and to believe that the contemporary judgment of Gambetta as the "man of revenge" has been clearly and indisputably established.

On November 15 Gambetta announced to the chambers his programme, of which the chief part related to a limited revision of the constitutional laws of 1875, and the "establishment of an efficient administration, united and faithful, free from personal influences as well as from local rivalries." On January 14, 1882, he brought forward his scheme. For the Senate he desired alteration in the mode of election, restriction of its financial competency, and the transmutation of life-tenure into a term of nine years; for the Chamber, the *scrutin de liste*. But on January 26 the Chamber rejected his measure by a vote of 282 to 227, for the entire Right had joined with the Left and Extreme Left. Gambetta, when handing in his resignation an hour after the vote had been taken, prophesied in his last speech as minister that the revision he desired would come. And his prophecy was in large part to be realized. In 1884 a law was passed providing for the abolition of life-senatorships by decreeing that vacancies among the life-senators should be filled not by vote of the Senate, but by the electoral colleges, and that the senators thus chosen should serve but nine years; in the same year very complete local government was established and administration greatly improved by decentralization; and not only was the *scrutin de liste* introduced in 1885, but it continued in use until 1889, when the rapid rise of Boulanger led to the substitution again of *scrutin d'arrondissement*. But Gambetta spoke truly when he said: "Believe me, gentlemen, the future will prove the justness of my words."

The ministry of Freycinet, which followed, proved to be of short duration. Many questions of first importance confronted it, and their urgency demanded that for the time being the revision of the constitution be laid aside. Local government, education, the army, the press, and trade-unions were all made the subject of discussion, and two or three important measures were passed, notably the law granting to the municipal councils the right of electing mayors in town and country (March 28), and of the same date that laicising education. But more important and requiring immediate attention was the question of the finances; for as Léon Say, the minister of finance, showed in his report of March 2, the debt had increased from 700 millions to 3 milliards, the ordinary budget was greater than ever before, and many regularly recurring articles had been taken over by the extraordinary budget. In order to avoid new loans, Say proposed that conventions should be made with the railroads, whereby the greater part of the original advance that had been made by the state should be paid back on condition that the state should renounce for the next fifteen years all plans of nationalizing the private roads. But a more serious cause of party conflict was the dis-

cussion of the Egyptian question. Gambetta, on the occasion of Arabi Pasha's revolt, had proposed that England and France should send a common note to the Khedive, declaring "that the French and English governments should consider the maintenance of his Highness upon the throne as providing the only guarantee of good order and prosperity in Egypt, and that the two governments should be strictly associated in order to prevent all complications which should menace the established régime." This policy was overturned by Freycinet, who adopted another of non-co-operation and intervention, in order that he might, as became the "man of peace," avoid all appearance of supporting a military expedition. Consequently he proposed to withdraw from the joint arrangement with England and to submit the question to a European concert, at the same time declaring from the tribune that an armed intervention was not to be thought of. This statement, however, was not well received by the Chamber, and Freycinet, finding it necessary to modify his views, proposed that troops be sent not to occupy Egypt, but to protect the Suez Canal. But for this purpose the Chamber refused to grant the desired credit, and on July 29 Freycinet resigned. The situation was not an easy one to cope with, for, besides the disunity existing among the Republicans themselves, Anarchists, Socialists, and Red Republicans were advocating programmes of a most varied type. Then, too, the Republican party was thrown into even greater confusion by the loss of Gambetta, who died in December of an abdominal trouble of a year's standing, which had been aggravated by a wound received in the hand from a revolver a month before. The French people mourned deeply the death of the man who after Thiers deserved the name of the founder of the republic.

In the face of this confusion, Duclerc, the successor of Freycinet, formed his ministry only with the greatest difficulty. And other troubles were yet to come. While the chambers were in parliamentary disorder, and while the Anarchist, Prince Krapotkin, was undergoing trial for plots against the republic, and Déroulède was organizing his League of the Patriots, the Monarchists, taking advantage of the situation, began again to urge their cause. Prince Napoleon, the second son of Jerome Bonaparte, on the night of January 16, 1883, posted a manifesto in all the communes, appealing to the people and demanding a plébiscite. But, fortunately for the republic, he did not have even the support of all the Bonapartists, the majority of whom accepted the eldest son, Prince Victor, named as his heir by the Prince Imperial in his will in 1879. Rumors spread abroad of a Legitimist plot, and so fearful were the deputies of the danger to the republic that they brought forward

a number of proposals dealing with all the members of families that had ruled in France. Some, like Floquet, wished to expatriate them altogether; others, like Devès, to impose heavy penalties on all engaged in plots; while still a third group would have been content to strike the names of Prince Joinville, Duke of Aumale, Count of Paris, Duke of Chartres, Duke of Penthièvre, and Duke of Alençon from the army lists. Unable to make up its mind on this question, the Duclerc ministry withdrew on January 28, 1883. Another, formed by Fallières, managed to remain until February 21, at which time a ministry was formed by Jules Ferry. As it was first organized, its members were Challemel-Lacour (foreign affairs), Waldeck-Rousseau (interior), Martin Feuillé (justice), Thibaudin (war), Charles Brun (marine), Tirard (finance), Raynal (public works), Méline (agriculture), Cocheret (post), and Herisson (commerce). Although this ministry represented a combination of the Left and the Republican Union, Gambetta's party, and had as opponents the Right and the Radicals, it lasted until March 30, 1885, a period of two years, and proved to be a strong working body.

The much-needed legislation was at last set in motion. And it was high time; for the continuous and unprofitable parliamentary bickerings consequent on the frequent changes of ministry were proving detrimental not only to the social, but to the economic life of France as well. Commerce and industry were showing the need of government legislation. It is true that the finances, the army, local government, and the constitution had been considered by previous ministries; but numbers of the measures presented had not become laws, and a mass of unfinished business remained to be taken up by Ferry and his colleagues. On February 25, before Ferry began his work, President Grévy, acting in accordance with laws of 1834, 1839, and 1875, issued a decree removing the Dukes of Aumale, Chartres, and Alençon from the army; and although the decree gave rise to considerable discussion in the chambers, the royalist pretenders submitted without a protest. Ferry met the financial difficulty by the conversion of the 5 per cent. government loan into 4½ per cents., whereby a saving of 34,000,000 francs was anticipated (April 25), and on November 20 made an agreement with the great railroad companies whereby the state, by renouncing its right to nationalize the lines, received two-thirds of all receipts over a fixed amount. Other measures provided for the repeal of the law of 1882, whereby judges were to be elected by universal suffrage, and legalized divorce (1884). A vast amount of time was spent in considering the colonial policy in Madagascar, the Congo, the Sudan, Tonquin, Annam, and Cambodia; but an opportunity was still found to take up military, educational, and social questions. The

new recruiting law substituted for the five-year period a service of three years, with the abolition of conscription and one-year volunteering, and limited the categories of exemptions to those persons physically incapacitated, and in certain cases to the supporters of families. But the military law increasing the strength of the army was rejected by the Senate and not passed until 1889. Finally the constitution was revised by the declaration that no member of a former ruling house was eligible to the Presidency; by the elimination of the section regulating senatorial elections; and by the passage of a special law providing for the gradual abolishment of life-senatorships; while *scrutin de liste* was substituted for *scrutin d'arrondissement*.

Yet, with all the changes for the better, the condition of the country continued to be most unsatisfactory. In the wine-growing districts the grape-louse, which had been a pest in Southern France since 1865, was creating great havoc and inflicting losses estimated up to 1883 at 5,000,000 francs. The experiment of planting American vines in the devastated regions was begun with success. In 1884 cholera broke out in Marseilles and other cities of the south and even threatened Paris, arousing great anxiety and retarding industrial activity. But most serious of all was the social unrest fomented by the fanatical Louise Michel, who exercised a great influence over the working classes. In January, 1884, the government took up the labor question, and in February a committee was appointed to investigate the condition of the laboring classes. Strikes took place in March and April among the miners at Anzin, and property was destroyed. The question was again brought before the chambers in March, and delegations of workmen presented their grievances and demands. In order to provide work the government hastened the inception of public undertakings and appointed a committee to consider an appropriation for the benefit of the unemployed. Discontent was increased by the government's colonial policy, by the checks which the expedition to Tonquin had received, by the agitation of the monarchical pretenders, and by the war with the church. When, therefore, on the 23d of March, news came of a battle at Bang-Bo on March 21, in which the French General Négrier was wounded, and of another at Lang-son, where Colonel Herbinger, his successor, had suffered a momentary setback, Ferry was so fiercely attacked in the Chamber that he resigned on March 30, 1885. On April 7, after a week's delay, Brisson, a leader of the Radicals, was instructed to form a cabinet; but the latter lasted only for nine months. The majority which Ferry had commanded had disappeared, and in consequence there followed a year of parliamentary inactivity in which nothing was accomplished.

The elections of 1885 resulted in the defeat of the Opportunists; this was the more surprising in that the elections had been held under the *scrutin de liste*. But the country had been thrown into confusion by the aggressive policy of Ferry, and the Conservative parties took advantage of the discontent. The Monarchists united on a single list. The Legitimists, without a leader—for the Count of Chambord had died in 1883—allied almost everywhere with the Orleanists; while Legitimists, Orleanists, and Bonapartists joined in a Constitutional Opposition League and conducted a vigorous campaign against the school laws, the expulsion



FIG. 8. General Boulanger.

of the congregations, and the war in Tonquin. The Republicans, divided on these issues, lost heavily in the first elections; but, frightened at the result, drew together and succeeded in gaining a victory by a decreased majority, winning 362 seats to 202 obtained by the Conservatives. But the victors were not united, being divided into Republicans and Radicals, so that a stable majority could not be obtained by any party. Nevertheless the two parties united on the choice of the President of the republic, and re-elected Grévy on December 28, 1885.

This, by friends and enemies alike, was construed as a sign of weakness, inasmuch as certain family considerations, which were eventually to lead to his resignation, would seem to have demanded that another man be chosen. As Clemenceau's party, the Radicals, with 180 seats to their credit, held the balance of power in the Chamber, the new minister Freycinet, who came into office for the third time on January 7, 1886, was compelled to purchase their support by concessions. He first entrusted the ministry of war to General Boulanger (Fig. 8), "the soul of a new Chauvinism," as the Germans dubbed him, and the ministries of posts and telegraphs and of commerce to the Radicals, Granet and Lockroy.

General Boulanger at once began to agitate for military reorganization and the establishment of a new recruiting system; and his activity, which soon made him the most important member of the cabinet, also gave to the policy of the government a distinctly military character. Observers began to see behind Boulanger a growing Radical party with a new programme of revenge. But for the moment the Freycinet ministry had a more serious matter to consider. The return of over 200 Monarchists by the elections of 1885 had been ascribed by the Radicals to the activities of the house of Orleans, and the Count of Paris greatly aggravated the discontent by holding in his Paris residence, on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Amélie to the Crown Prince of Portugal, a reception of such a kind as seemed to lay stress on the connection of his family with a reigning house in Europe. Making use of these facts, the Radicals and Opportunists charged the prince with assuming the attitude of a sovereign, and pressed for the banishment of all the pretenders. The law as passed on June 26, 1886, banished from France the Count of Paris, the Prince of Orleans and his son, Prince Jerome Napoleon and his eldest son Prince Victor, and in Article 4 excluded from public office such princes as were permitted to reside in France. Against this article the Duke of Aumale (Fig. 9) protested in a very dignified letter, which the ministry answered by decreeing his expulsion also. The duke took a noble revenge for this wretched act of persecution by willing to France his chateau of Chantilly, with its rich art-treasures; but Boulanger he did not spare. In 1880 and later, Boulanger had written to the duke, his superior officer, letters which proved their author to be little else than a cringing sycophant. These letters the duke possessed, and these he now published; and when Boulanger denied having written them, produced other proof convicting the minister not only of cowardice, but of falsehood as well.

Now followed another period characterized by the instability of min-

istries, a sure sign of the presence in the Chamber of hostile parties and hostile programmes. After the retirement of Freycinet in December, 1886, Goblet came into office with eight of Freycinet's colleagues, among them General Boulanger. Goblet followed the policy of conciliation which his predecessor had adopted, and promised to withhold all questions upon which the two parties were disagreed. But the good results of this policy were in large part destroyed by the Schnaebeli incident (p. 168), and the situation was in no way bettered. In May, 1887, Goblet was overthrown on a question of financial retrenchment, and there seemed to be no certainty that Rouvier, his successor, would be able to accom-



FIG. 9. Duke of Anmale.

plish anything, even after throwing over the policy of conciliation and allying with the Right and the clergy to oppose the Radicals. The disappointments, the discontents, and the party hates of half a decade seemed to culminate in this period, and a crisis was imminent. The only popular Republican leader, Gambetta, was dead; the working Republican majority that he had received from the elections of 1881 had given place to a coalition of groups, which had proved itself unable to carry through any beneficial legislation; and many men, convinced that the Republicans were responsible for the agricultural and commercial crisis everywhere prevailing, withdrew from the Republican party and gave

their support, some to the Right, others to the Left. At this crisis it became a matter of great importance as to whether or not Boulanger, who had for the most part dominated the cabinets of Freycinet and Goblet, would be appointed by Rouvier to serve as minister of war. But Rouvier rejected him, and, passing over the Radicals, selected Ferron, of his own party. Boulanger was sent back to the army and given charge of a corps at Clermont-Ferrand.

Hereupon began a general movement against the Republican party. On May 20, in a manifesto to the representatives of the monarchical party remaining in France, the Count of Paris spoke with striking

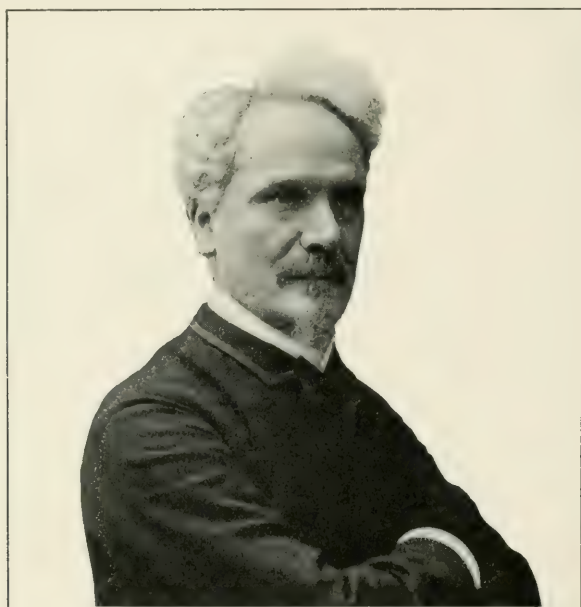


FIG. 10.—Henri Rochefort.

relevancy of the superiority of a monarchical over a republican régime, and his manifesto was greeted with great favor even by the Bonapartists. On the occasion of Boulanger's departure for Clermont-Ferrand, meetings in his honor were held in Paris; and on July 14, the national festival was transformed into a demonstration for the ex-minister of war. The feeling against Grévy and Rouvier was bitter, and was especially cherished by such men as Rochefort (Fig. 10), of the Irreconcilable and Socialist press, and Déroulède, the leader of the League of the Patriots, both of whom were eagerly watching for an opportunity to inflict a wound upon the republic. Nor had they long to wait: Grévy himself

was soon at their mercy. It was discovered that General Cadlaret, an appointee of Boulanger, and General d'Andlau had been trafficking in the crosses of the Legion of Honor. Boulanger himself was implicated, but his share in the scandal was overshadowed by the discovery in October, 1887, that the deputy, Wilson, President Grévy's son-in-law, was also involved. The people of Tours, whose representative he was, demanded his resignation. Popular excitement became intense, and charges were made against Grévy himself, who, if not guilty of connivance, was guilty at least of great carelessness. It was estimated that



FIG. 11.—Sadi-Carnot.

Wilson, by using his father-in-law's franking privilege and private stamp, had defrauded the postal department of 40,000 francs. The Chamber, as a hint to the President, first overthrew the Rouvier ministry, November 19, 1887; but this did not have the desired effect, and for two weeks the Chamber waited, no one being found who would form a cabinet. Finally, on December 2, to the joy of practically all parties, Grévy resigned, and France was free to turn her attention to the election of a new President.

Europe now looked on with interest. Many who had accepted Déroulède, Rochefort, Louise Michel, and their followers as the expo-

nents of France, expected nothing less than the election of Boulanger, a National Assembly, a revision of the constitution, and war with Germany. In reality, however, there was at no time danger of such a result. Boulanger at this time was, it is true, negotiating with all the enemies of the republic; but whatever may have been the extent of his intrigues, he accomplished little, for he did not receive a single vote in the National Assembly. Other candidates for the position were Ferry and Freycinet; but Ferry, recognizing the fact that the Right would never vote for him, retired with instructions to his followers to vote for Sadi-Carnot, and Freycinet did the same. In consequence, Carnot (Fig. 11) was elected. By this act France gave a splendid example of the solidity and elasticity of her republican institutions, for she had chosen not an adventurer or a strong partisan, but a devoted Republican, a lover of France, and, more than all, an honest man. This grandson of the great Carnot had shown his ability by his work for the finances of France, and though less prominent than others of his party, and by some believed to be without the firmness which the situation demanded, he inspired confidence by his devotion to his work and to his country.

But Boulanger, undaunted, turned to the country and the voters. Taking as his watchword the cry, "Dissolution of the chambers, a National Assembly, revision of the constitution, abolition of the Senate and of the Presidency," he presented himself to the people as a candidate for the Chamber of Deputies. His power over the various classes was striking. He captivated the Socialists by fair words; he won the support of the Orleanists and Bonapartists, who wanted a military leader to prepare the way for their king or emperor; and for the moment he duped even fair-minded men, who hoped that he would "unite all Frenchmen in a common devotion to the country, which should supersede all petty or dynastic rivalries, put an end to parliamentary squabbles by giving back to the executive the vitality it had lost and the initiative it ought to have, and admit men of all shades of opinion into the public service on the sole condition of their being capable and honest." But Boulanger was no such statesman. He had no fixed convictions; he had disobeyed his superior officer, the minister of war, by betaking himself to Paris, without furlough, to confer with his confidants; and he had courted popularity and lent himself to any party or group that would give him financial aid. From the Duchess d'Uzes alone he had received, it was said, over 3,000,000 francs. In March, 1888, a military committee placed him on the retired list; but this disgrace was at first so little understood by the voters that when he presented himself as a candidate, first in the department of Dordogne, and afterward in that of the

Nord, he was elected by large majorities. After a theatrical appearance and speech in the Chamber, he resigned; but not before he had got from the deputies a vote on the question of revision against Tirard, Carnot's first minister, and had brought about a ministerial crisis. He then presented himself as a candidate from three departments at once, and, having been elected by all of them, he turned to Paris in January, 1889, and was elected again by a vote of 244,149 to 162,419.

But, in February of the year 1889, Tirard's successor, Floquet, was overthrown, and Tirard himself returned to power, with Constans (Fig. 12) as minister of the interior. Unexpected firmness was dis-



FIG. 12.—Constans.

played by the new ministry. Having determined to employ any means that would secure order and maintain respect for the republic, and not only to foil, but, if necessary, to crush, all seditious movements, Constans prosecuted and dissolved the League of the Patriots, drove the Russian agitator, Atchinoff, from Sagallo in French Somaliland, and received from the chambers authority to prosecute Boulanger himself on the ground of an attempt against the safety of the state. This charge the "brave general" did not wait to meet, and, to avoid arrest, fled on the night of April 1 to Brussels, whence he denounced "the executioners and scavengers retaining possession of power in defiance of the public conscience." On August 14 the Senate, acting as the supreme court of justice, pronounced him guilty of conspiracy and of embezzlement of the public funds, and sentenced him, together with his alleged accom-

plices, Dillon and Rochefort, to transportation to a fortified place for life. Hereupon the entire Boulangist movement collapsed. The elections which followed showed that Boulanger's popularity had already disappeared; and with his death in 1891, the Revisionists as a distinct party ceased to exist.

The danger had been a real one, and both at home and abroad the lesson was taken to heart. The Republican majority in particular needed the sobering effect of so menacing an occasion. However serious it may have appeared at the time, the Boulanger affair had the undoubted effect of strengthening the Republican cause. It promoted unity among the Constitutionalists, it cast into disgrace the Boulangists themselves and all who had supported their cause, it checked for the time being the malignant attacks of the Irreconcilable and Nationalist press, and it threw into greater disorder than ever before the monarchical branch of the constitutional opposition, not only injuring the reputation of such leaders as the Count of Paris, but also throwing into discredit the whole monarchical party, which, by its alliance with such a man as Boulanger, betrayed its selfishness and its weakness. And finally the stability which the republic showed under attack raised it in the estimation of Europe and restored in part a confidence in its permanence which recent events had severely shaken.

CHAPTER II.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, ITALY, AND RUSSIA.

THE fact that both Austria and Italy had been in negotiation with France in the days before the Franco-Prussian war made it eminently desirable that the latter power should be isolated during the years that followed, and that Germany should prevent any alliance of the two defeated countries against her. Germany was anxious for peace. "We have attained," said Emperor William in his speech from the throne, March 21, 1871, "that for which Germany has been striving since the days of our father—unity and its organic expression in government, fixed boundaries, and independence of our legal development. . . . The new Germany will become a sure protector of the peace of Europe." But Bismarck, more alive to the necessity of alliances with the powers abroad, wished especially that the bond between the old imperial power and rejuvenated Germany should be re-established on a new basis, and that a cordial alliance, as between people of the same race and traditions, should replace the old rivalry and the hostility which had led to war between the powers in 1866. In the very year of the battle of Königgrätz he had been ready to establish the old friendship with Austria; but at that time the wound was not healed, the bitterness of party was too great in Vienna, and the internal disorganization of the Austrian state was such as to require the entire attention of Austrian statesmen for the problem of reconstruction. Furthermore, the presence of Count Beust, the old enemy of Prussia, as chancellor at Vienna, the sympathy of Austria for France, and the negotiations that were carried on between Archduke Albert and General Lebrun must have rendered impossible an understanding between Germany and Austria. But after the attainment of German unity, Bismarck had written to Count Beust from Versailles, expressing Germany's desire to live on such terms of amity with her powerful neighbor "as accorded with their common past as well as with the reciprocal inclinations and needs of the two peoples." Beust replied "with great satisfaction," accepting Germany's advances in the hope that in the new relation "the two peoples, allied in historical traditions, in speech, customs, and law, would find the promise of a blessed future."

Emperor Francis Joseph (Fig. 13) confirmed this change of disposition on the part of Austria by sending Field-Marshal von Gablenz to greet the German emperor on his return from Versailles to Berlin. A few weeks later, August, 1871, Beust met the emperor and Bismarck at Gastein, and this exchange of courtesies was followed by meetings of the German emperor and the Emperor of Austria at Ischl and Salzburg in September. An understanding was evidently reached, but no treaty was made, inasmuch as Beust opposed strongly the entering of Austria into any such relation, largely on the ground that such a treaty would



FIG. 13.—Francis Joseph I.

compel Austria to support the cause of Germany in the event of a Franco-German war.

Austria's position was a difficult one. Since 1867 she had been passing through a serious constitutional crisis. Before that time she had been a highly centralized state, the government of which had been controlled largely by the German element. This state of affairs had been inevitable so long as Austria remained a part of the Germanic confederation and continued, as she had for centuries, a German state. But after the revolution of 1848, in which both Hungary and Bohemia had received, only to lose again, the right of self-government, the non-Germanic portions of the empire came into prominence; and having advanced so far, they were determined never to cease their struggle until they should

receive recognition. For sixteen years Hungary waited, and finally in 1866 negotiations reached such a critical point that only some outside pressure was needed to complete the new arrangement. This the battle of Königgrätz furnished, and in 1867 was erected the Austro-Hungarian government, that dual system whereby the difficulties with Hungary were adjusted and the empire divided into two parts—one Magyar, the other German. Beyond the Leitha existed a Magyar nationality, compact, aggressive, and instinct with promise for the future; on the western side of the Leitha was the old Hapsburg archduchy, where had been the seat of government, together with those additional territories, kingdoms, and duchies, centres of a Polish or Slavic population, that had begun to demand for themselves autonomous rights. Chief among these crown lands were Bohemia and Galicia, the former including Moravia and Silesia, the latter, an old province of Poland, occupied by Poles, who still retained a strong sense of national independence. From these dependent nationalities, which after all were not true nationalities, were to spring the most perplexing of those problems that troubled the Austrian government during the next thirty years.

But eager as these lesser peoples were for independence and recognition, it was not until 1867, after the government of Cisleithania was organized in Vienna, with Count Karlos Auersperg at its head, that they began to protest against their exclusion from the complete rights granted to Hungary. The Czechs in particular were discontented with their position as dependent on Vienna; and after a visit of the emperor to Prague in 1868 had shown itself barren of results, they gave definite expression to their feeling of hostility. They engaged in street tumults and mass-meetings, refused to sit in the Landtag, and finally, in a declaration of August 22, put forth a statement of their claims. They demanded the union of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia in a single political state, occupying a position similar to that which Hungary held; that



FIG. 11. Palacky.

the connection with Austria should be personal only; and finally that an *Ausgleich* should be arranged which should recognize separate rights and reciprocal obligations, entire control over taxation of every kind, both local and imperial, and freedom from all outside interference except within the limits of the agreement. Unfortunately for their cause, the Czechs were not united: the older leaders, Palacky (Fig. 14) and Rieger, were inclined to take the side of the conservative and aristocratic group under Clam-Martinitz (Fig. 15) and Schwarzenberg, against the young Czechs led by Sladowsky. Almost immediately the policy adopted by Bohemia was copied by Moravia, and the Slavs in the Moravian diet issued a similar declaration, asserting that the Reichsrat had no authority over



FIG. 15. — Clam-Martinitz.

them; while the Silesian diet went further, taking the ground that the historic rights of Silesia should be considered and the province in no way treated as a mere appanage of the throne of King Wenceslaus. The claims of these three crown lands—Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia—were of greater weight, in that they were based on rights formerly exercised and promises which, though broken, had been definitely made. With Galicia, however, the case was different; no contracts had been made,

and the Galicians were obliged to be more moderate in their demands. Notwithstanding the opposition of Smolka, they had voted to send deputies to the Reichsrat; and in their address of September to the emperor, they limited themselves to a demand for self-government for their kingdom—that is, for control in matters of commerce, finance, suffrage, justice, and administration. All these problems, arising from the presence in Cisleithania of the many races and folks, were to make it impossible that Austria should pursue a policy other than a tentative and variable one, or that she should feel herself sufficiently stable to warrant her bringing her full influence to bear on foreign affairs.

This instability shewed itself in the rapid changes of ministries during 1869, 1870, and 1871. The Karlos Auersperg ministry resigned,

partly because of the unendurable position in which it was placed, owing to the refusal of Moravians and Bohemians and other peoples of the crown lands to recognize the Reichsrat and send deputies to it; and partly because the emperor refused to give it his confidence. The ministry of Taaffe, which succeeded it, found itself equally unable to solve the problem. A majority of its members wished to compel attendance by taking the election of deputies out of the hands of the local diets and placing it in the hands of the people; but the minority, convinced that this plan would in no way better the situation, favored a compromise with the Czechs, Poles, and Slavs. Inasmuch as the Reichsrat favored the majority view, Taaffe, Potocki, and Berger withdrew from the ministry; and on February 1, 1870, Hasner, leader of the majority, became the head of a new cabinet, which was committed to the support of the constitution as it stood. But the emperor was already considering the plan of compromise with the Czechs; and in March, when the Poles and Slovenes withdrew from the Reichsrat, thus reducing it to a Rump Parliament composed solely of Germans, he accepted Hasner's resignation and called Count Potocki, himself a Pole, to form a new cabinet with a view to satisfying both Poles and Czechs.



FIG. 16. — Count Hohenwart

This ministry dissolved the Reichsrat and the provincial diets; but as the new elections to the former body brought in a majority hostile to him, he found himself in an awkward position, and resigned November 23, 1870. For two months Francis Joseph hesitated before calling another ministry, so great were the difficulties confronting him. On one side he was face to face with the Franco-Prussian war, and on the other with the vexatious racial problem. His foreign relations gave him no small anxiety; for under the circumstances he dared not aid France, even had he been so inclined; and at the same time the confused state of affairs at home required his best energy and thought. He was thoroughly perplexed as to what policy to adopt regarding his own

people: whether to maintain dualism, and so satisfy only that fraction of the inhabitants of Cisleithania which was represented by the German majority in the Reichsrat; or to accept federalism, and so satisfy the claims of the races by making of Cisleithania a loosely compacted confederation. There seemed to be no alternative. Fully aware of the importance of his decision, he was slow in reaching a conclusion; but finally on February 4, 1871, he summoned Count Hohenwart (Fig. 16) in the place of Potocki, and thereby committed himself to federalism. The new ministry—composed as it was of two Czechs and a Pole who were Federalists, a Socialist who was an enemy of Prussia, and two Feudal-Clericals—was anti-German in sympathy; and immediately after its installation followed a series of concessions to the discontented national-

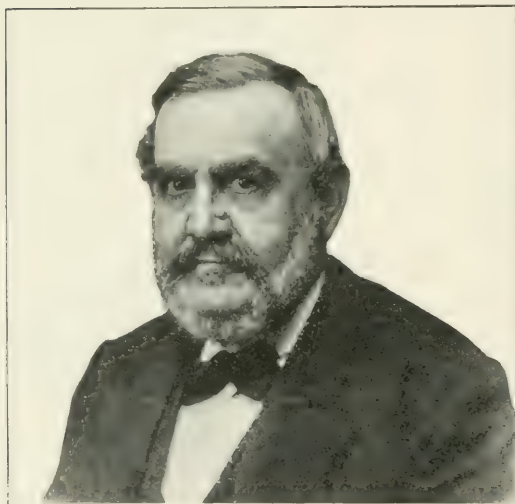


FIG. 17.—Rieger.

alities. A compromise was arranged with Galicia which conceded extensive powers of self-government along the lines of the declaration of 1868; and Hohenwart stated that if Bohemia and the other preponderatingly Slavic lands should be content with like concessions, he was prepared to offer such to them. But when he began to discuss with the Bohemian leaders, Palacky, Rieger (Fig. 17), and Clam-Martinitz, the bases of the new arrangement, and to embody them in the form of a special law, the Ger-

mans rose in protest. Already had individuals in the Reichsrat and certain pro-German newspapers outside uttered inflammatory words indicative of a desire to appeal to Prussia, recently the victor in the war with France, as the liberator of the Austrian Germans. They compared Bohemia with Schleswig; and a leader of the Germans in the Reichsrat reminded his fellow-members that they were the relatives of a great people who were their near neighbors. In May the lower House drew up an address to the emperor in which it declared that it no longer had confidence in the ministry. But the emperor replied on the 30th, expressing his complete satisfaction with the situation, and in

August received in audience the Czechish leaders, Rieger and Clam-Martinitz. The proposal was made to dissolve the lower House and to call for new elections to the Landtags in all the provinces where the Germans had a majority. It was hoped that by allowing fair elections, free from governmental pressure, it would be possible to obtain the return of a two-thirds majority which would consider favorably a revision of the constitution in the interest of the nationalities. Further negotiations with the Bohemians resulted in the sending of a special imperial message to Prague, which was read at the opening of the Bohemian diet on September 12. The emperor promised to recognize the historical rights of the Czechs and to allow himself to be crowned at Prague as their king, an arrangement which meant that Bohemia was to be put in a position similar to that occupied by Hungary. At the same time he called on the Bohemians to state frankly what in their opinion were the best means of reconciling their kingdom with the rest of the monarchy. In answer a committee presented to the diet the eighteen fundamental articles constituting a true Bohemian constitution, according to which Bohemia was to be an independent, self-governing kingdom, represented in the delegations as was Hungary, with a separate Bohemian army. The representation of the local districts was to be increased, thus preparing the way for a majority of Czechs in the Landtag; while in common with Hungary the kingdom was to consider as the common affairs of the entire monarchy only the questions of war, foreign relations, and commerce. This constitution was voted on October 12 in an address to the emperor, asking him to promulgate the constitution by letters-patent, and, moreover, to allow himself to be crowned at Prague with the holy crown of Wenceslaus. The Moravian diet accepted the articles, and all the Slavic peoples viewed the situation with feelings of expectation and hope. It looked as if the supremacy of the German and Magyar races was at an end, as if dualism was about to give way to a policy of federation.

But the emperor had not counted on the tremendous opposition that this policy was bound to arouse, both in Germany and in Hungary. Within Cisleithania the Austrian Germans were dismayed and indignant, and the feeling was communicated to Berlin. In the interviews held at Gastein, Ischl, and Salzburg in the summer of 1871, the matter was talked over in the conversations between Francis Joseph and Emperor William, and between Bismarck, Andrassy, and Beust; and pressure was brought to bear to induce the Emperor of Austria and Count Andrassy to oppose the new policy. Already were the Magyars aroused by the compromise with Bohemia, and events taking place in Croatia were making the matter of first importance to them. The

Croats in September had issued a manifesto demanding that the arrangement already made with Hungary should be given up, and that Croatia should be placed on a footing similar to that on which Hungary stood with Austria and to that which Bohemia was demanding; that is, that Croatia should have self-government and be bound to Hungary only by the personal tie of a common king. An insurrection took place in October in the Military Frontier, to suppress which Hungary was compelled to send troops under von Mollinary. When, therefore, the question of which should prevail, federalism or dualism, was brought before the grand council of ministers sitting under the presidency of the emperor, Andrassy came over to the side of Beust the chancellor of the empire, who had been the creator of the dual policy; and the two together were able to convince the emperor that the new federal scheme was threatening to break up the newly consolidated empire. It is doubtful if Francis Joseph would have been influenced by Beust and the German party alone; but the opposition of the Magyars was too serious not to be considered. The battle between Hohenwart on one side and Andrassy, Beust, and the other imperial ministers, Kulm and Lonyay, ended in the victory of dualism. The letters-patent promulgating the fundamental articles for Bohemia were never issued.

On October 30, after an effort had been made to bring about a modification of the Bohemian demands through interviews with Rieger and Clam-Martinitz, Hohenwart gave up the struggle and retired from office. The issue must have been especially painful for the emperor, whose desire to do the best thing for his people, as every act testified, was unmistakable. He at once accepted the constitution unrevised, adhered to dualism, and prepared to take up the heavy task of governing in a monarchy bound to be distraught by questions that time alone could answer and by rivalries that were bound to threaten the peace of the kingdom whichever way a decision was rendered. On November 20 he called Prince Adolf Auersperg, who was a strong Constitutionalist, to form a new ministry, and by him a cabinet of loyal Dualists was selected. The new rescript which was sent to Prague was of a character very different from that which had greeted the Bohemians on the 12th of September before. Nothing more was said of the Bohemian constitution or of a coronation of the emperor as King of Bohemia at Prague. The emperor promised to do what he could to satisfy the legal demands of the Czechs; but it was very evident that any alteration of the fundamental law of the dual monarchy was not to be thought of as long as the Hungarians were opposed, and that an agreement could not be reached between the Hungarian Parliament and the Reichsrat of Cis-

leithania. Thus, to the disappointment of the Slavs, Count Auersperg rescinded the measures his predecessor had taken to conciliate the nationalities, and declared that the position of the lesser nationalities had already been regulated by the *Ausgleich* and the fundamental laws of Cisleithania. The Bohemians were called upon to send deputies to the Reichsrat, and, upon their refusing to comply, their diet was dissolved on November 25 and new elections were ordered. Governmental interference again began; the Slavic press in Prague was placed under supervision, and all references to the earlier Federalist policy were forbidden.

But the Bohemians were not the only sacrifice that the emperor made in the interest of dualism and the German-Magyar supremacy. Shortly after Hohenwart retired, Francis Joseph summoned Count Beust to his presence and asked for his resignation. And for this act the emperor had justification. Beust, it was felt, had been responsible for the overthrow of the Constitutional ministry of Taaffe-Hasner. Moreover, without uttering a word of protest, he had allowed the emperor to go on with his negotiations with the Bohemians for so long that the monarchy had become seriously compromised. Beust had, furthermore, many enemies in Austria. Having formerly been the minister of Saxony, he was disliked by the Austrian aristocracy as a stranger; by the Ultramontanes he was opposed as a Protestant, and by the Slavs as a German. Furthermore, the emperor desired to abolish the office of imperial chancellor, which Beust had held, and which had proved only a cumbrous addition to the state machinery, already complicated with its two Parliaments, delegations, and imperial ministers. Under these circumstances Beust could not expect to retain any longer the imperial confidence. At the close of October, 1871, he proffered his resignation, and the emperor accepted it. On November 6 he was sent as ambassador, first to London, and then to Paris, and after active diplomatic service of eleven years retired to private life. In his place as minister-president and foreign minister entered Count Andrassy (Fig. 18), head of the Hungarian cabinet, who by the strange exigencies of circumstances became the leading minister of the empire which in 1849 had decreed his death for participation in the Hungarian revolution. His place as premier of Hungary was taken by Count Lonyay, who resigned the following year in consequence of charges brought against him of speculation and reckless financiering, himself to be succeeded by Szlavy at the head of a purely Deákist cabinet.

The Germans were now practically supreme in the Reichsrat. The Czechs, doubly embittered by the final refusal of the emperor to grant their demands and by the appointment of Baron Koller as *Landthaber*

and military commander at Prague, refused to send deputies. Wishing to obtain a two-thirds majority whereby certain amendments to the constitution might be made, Auersperg effected a compromise with the Poles of Galicia, which, as it happened, proved of little value. The necessary majority was, however, finally obtained; and the first change that was made in the constitution concerned the election of deputies. On April 2, 1873, a measure was passed based on the belief that elections by the provincial diets were bad because they were constantly liable to be thwarted by deadlocks, and also unfair, inasmuch as they represented the will, not of the people, but of a partisan majority. Under this method in the past the deputies had almost uniformly been of one political party. The new



FIG. 18.—Count Andrassy.

law adopted the plan of direct election by the people. The Reichsrat was increased to 353 representatives, which were to be chosen by four groups of electors—the great landed proprietors, the local country communities, the towns, and the chambers of commerce. In this arrangement the proprietors were to elect 85 representatives, the peasants 131, and the burgesses 137. The law was unmistakably directed against the local supremacy of the Poles of Bohemia and Galicia, and the latter consequently abstained from voting. The law was therefore carried almost unanimously; and the elections of October, which were held under the new arrangement, resulted in the sending of 233 Constitu-

tionalists out of the 353 representatives to the Reichsrat. This gave a strong majority to the supporters of dualism, and though the Slavs who were elected elsewhere than in Bohemia took their seats in the diet, those of Bohemia, 42 in number, held themselves aloof and refused to appear when Parliament opened in November, 1873.

During the year in which this electoral question was agitating the people, there was opened at Vienna a World Exposition which proved to be one of the most important that up to this time had been held. Visitors from abroad, together with the monarchs of the greater number of the countries of Europe, were present. But at the same time Vienna, in conjunction with many other cities of Central Europe, suffered from a financial panic which began on May 5, 1873, during the exposition, and which was due in large part to excessive speculation in the securities of banks, building societies, and railways. Bank after bank closed its doors; and before three years had passed, 96 out of 147 joint stock banks had failed. Financial jobbery in high places compromised the reputation of men of political and military prominence. Giskra, Banhaus, Kaiserfeld, and others were deeply involved, Field-Marshal von Gablenz losing so heavily that he committed suicide in Zürich. The government made strenuous efforts to better the situation, and, for the special purpose of relieving the strain, authorized a loan of 80 millions. The most pressing needs were met by public subscriptions; but the effects of the crash were really international and affected all the adjacent countries, Germany in particular, and extended even to the United States. In Berlin, 28 banks suspended payment, while railroads, building societies, factories, and business houses were dragged down in the panic. Credit was slow in recovering itself, and for a long time business remained depressed.

Meanwhile, so complete was the victory of the Constitutionalists in the Reichsrat, and so secure seemed the majority, that the ministry was eager, notwithstanding the internal complications due to racial conflicts and business panics, to take up the most burning of all questions, the extension of the ecclesiastical laws of 1868. The minister of instruction and worship, Stremayr, attacked the great problem of the relations of church and state. The Ultramontanes had succeeded up to this time in postponing the consideration of this matter, and the emperor had been inclined to avoid a further conflict with the Vatican if possible. But during the winter of 1873 and 1874, there appeared in the Reichsrat nine Moravian Czechs and three deputies from Vorarlberg, who, taken with the 105 of the old Liberals, the 65 of the Democratic Club, and the 57 Conservatives, made up the required two-thirds majority. The time

now seemed to favor his plans, and Stremayr, having drafted the series of important measures which opened a new *Kulturkampf* with Rome, submitted them to the new Reichsrat. The first of these, by granting to the state a regular oversight of the church, provided for the abrogation of the concordat of 1855, which had not only given the bishops control over education and the intellectual life of the people, but had also practically subordinated the state to the authority of the Roman Catholic Church; the second measure dealt with the status of religious communities; the third regulated the collation of benefices and the contributions of the holders of benefices to the funds for the maintenance of Catholic worship; and the fourth arranged the conditions under which new religious non-Catholic communities might be erected. In addition, the committee to whom these measures were referred recommended the passage of other laws further ameliorating the condition of the lower clergy, and establishing civil marriage; but owing to the opposition of the upper House, these recommendations, together with the measure dealing with the cloisters, received no further consideration. To all of these measures the emperor gave his consent; but the Ultramontanes, both those within and those without the Reichsrat, entered upon a bitter warfare to prevent their passage. The bishops in their pastorals called them "force-acts" which no Catholic need obey; the pope, in March, 1874, issued an encyclical against them, and wrote a personal letter to the emperor in the hope of influencing him against them; and a great mass-meeting was held in Vienna, composed of Feudalists and Clericals, which upheld the pastorals and the encyclical, appealed not only to Slavs and Germans, but to the pope himself, to oppose the measures. But both Auersperg and Stremayr refused to move from the position which they had taken; and in May, 1874, the first measure was passed with large majorities in both Houses. Afterward, though the debate was more prolonged, the third and fourth were also passed; but the second, which dealt with the religious communities, was deferred, inasmuch as it concerned chiefly the Old Catholics, who had opposed the doctrine of papal infallibility at the time of the Vatican Council. Thus, just a year after the "May Laws" of Prussia had given definite form to the *Kulturkampf* in Germany, the "May Laws" of Austria were passed; but the latter were carried out with far less vigor and with far greater regard for the sensibilities of the Catholics and the Curia than had been the case in Prussia. Instead of fighting the church at every point as Bismarck had done, only to suffer defeat in the end, Francis Joseph and Auersperg, though asserting the absolute constitutionality of the laws, allowed them to be executed with extraordinary mildness, and in so doing made it possible

for the bishops and others to accommodate themselves to the new conditions. Even the most hostile of all, Bishop Rüdiger of Linz, finally submitted, but only after he had heard from the papal nuncio, Jacobini, that the pope had decided to tolerate the laws. The execution of the laws was entrusted to the administrative authorities rather than to the ordinary courts of law, and in consequence the excitement of public trials that had disgraced the Prussian *Kulturkampf* was avoided. Moreover, this conciliatory and conservative policy of the Austrian officials, so strikingly unlike that adopted by the police in France ten years later, brought only good to Austria; for whereas in both Prussia and France the war with the church was to leave serious after-effects, in Austria the bad consequences were but temporary; the harmonious relations existing between church and state were never permanently disturbed.

The position that Austria now occupied was in all ways a strong one, although the adoption of dualism had left unsettled the racial difficulty. The summoning of Andrassy had been an earnest both of Austria's willingness to accept the results of the conflict with Prussia and the battle of Königgrätz, and of her recognition of Hungary as her main ally in the newly organized state. Nor can there be any doubt that Austria's diplomatic position and influence were strengthened thereby. "I know no man," said Andrassy later, "who would desire the recovery of the position that we have surrendered; and for this simple reason, that the monarchy, instead of being weakened by the change, is made incomparably stronger by it." Thus, instead of expending her efforts in endeavoring to maintain a hopeless position at the head of the Germanic confederation, she was able, in conjunction with her non-Germanic ally, to establish herself as a separate and independent state, to accept the hand of friendship held out by Bismarck, and, before the decade was over, to unite in a firm alliance with Germany, based on mutual interests. "Our relations with Austria," said Bismarck in 1887, "are more stable and confidential than ever they were, despite all written compacts, in the days of the Germanic confederation, or even in those of the Holy Roman Empire." In bringing about this desirable condition of affairs Hungary, or Transleithania, had played no inconsiderable part. She was not a single, national kingdom consisting of a single people bound together by a common history, a common language, and common customs. She was a composite kingdom, in which the dominant race, the Magyars, numbered but 6,000,000, as against 9,700,000 inhabitants of Slavic, German, and Rumanian origin. Politically, however, the kingdom was a unit, as was Cisleithania; and Croats, Slavs, and Germans were subject to the control of the Parliament at Buda-Pesth, in

which each people was represented. Count Lonyay, chief of the Deákists or Constitutional Centre, who had taken Andrassy's place as minister-president of the Hungarian diet, had begun the negotiations with the Croats, whereby the compromise of 1868 was to be modified; but owing to the continued activities in Croatia of the Omladina, an association organized to promote the erection of a great Slavic state of the south, to be led by King Milan of Serbia, he failed to carry through any measures. At this point Lonyay was charged by Csernatonyi, leader of the



FIG. 19.—Kolman Tisza.

Left, with having made a fortune out of the leases of the government's coal-mines; and having been refused aid by the Deákists, his own party, he was obliged to resign. His place was taken on December 5, 1872, by Szlavay, former minister of commerce, who devoted the greater part of his time as minister to completing the compromise with the Croats and incorporating Transylvania. Meanwhile, however, owing to the government's activity in promoting various undertakings and speculative enterprises, the financial condition of the country was growing rapidly worse. Constantly recurring deficits brought matters to a crisis, and Ghyezy, of

the Left Centre or Opposition Moderates, as early as November, 1873, declared that quarrelling about constitutional questions must be given up, that all parties might unite to meet the financial difficulties.

The first step in this direction was taken in 1874, when a coalition cabinet was formed from the Deákists and the Moderates of the Opposition under Bitto and Ghyezy; but a more important political transformation was effected in 1875, when the whole Left Centre, under the leadership of Kolman Tisza, united with the Deákists on the basis of the compromise of 1867 and formed the great Liberal party, destined in the years that followed to be the governing party of Hungary. Tisza (Fig. 19) entered the new cabinet as minister of the interior, and in October, 1875, became its president. The formation of the new party preceded by a few months the death of the great Hungarian statesman,

Ferencz Deák (Fig. 20), to whose efforts the adoption of the *Ausgleich* had been chiefly due. The programme of the new ministry included especially the renewal of the *Ausgleich* and its revision through the establishment of an Hungarian national bank, and modifications both of the tariff and of the commercial relations between the two parts of the monarchy. Discussion of these questions and of the portion of the common expenses to be borne by each state were prolonged for two years and a half, and it was not until 1878 that even an approximate agreement was

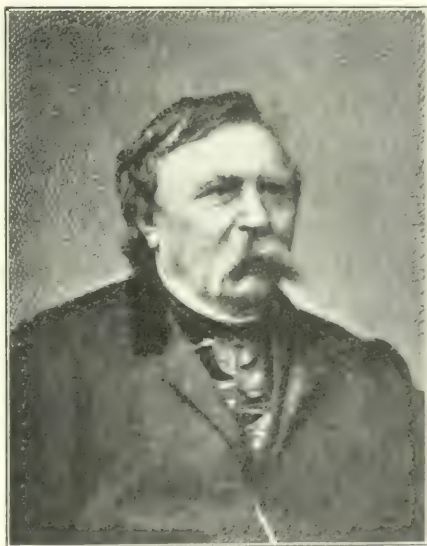


FIG. 20. Ferencz Deák.

reached. The difficulty of arriving at an agreement was due mainly to the fear of the German majority at Vienna that the Hungarians were endeavoring to cover their own deficit without giving in return any political advantages, but in part also to the persistent blocking of the discussion upon the *Ausgleich* in the Reichsrat resulting therefrom. Tisza resigned in February, 1877, when the emperor rejected the Hungarian proposal for a national bank; but as no one else was ready to form a cabinet, he was requested to retain office. Finally, in June, 1878, a working arrangement was reached which

retained the quota as it had been left in 1872, at 31.4 for Hungary and 68.6 for Austria. The remaining difficulties were met, not very satisfactorily indeed, but sufficiently so to become the basis of the agreement for twenty years to come; for when in 1887 a second renewal was necessary, the same conditions were maintained without change.

In Cisleithania a government crisis had been precipitated by the endeavor of Austria to carry out the condition of the treaty of Berlin concerning the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Germans in the Reichsrat had been growing more and more domineering with



FIG. 21.—Count Taaffe.

each year of their control. With senseless want of foresight they had opposed the carrying-out of the terms of the treaty, and on February 15, 1879, had carried through a vote expressing a want of confidence in the ministry. Auersperg at once resigned, and was replaced by Stremayr, with Count Taaffe as the minister of the interior. The purpose of the new ministry was to conduct the business of the state until a new Reichsrat should be chosen. When the elections were held in July, 1879, the country showed by its votes its very decisive dissatisfaction with the manner in which the German Constitutionalists had used the power conferred upon them by the elections of 1873. Only

176 Constitutionalists were chosen, as against 177 Ministerialists and Federalists; while the Czechs, numbering 54, held the balance of power. Immediately Stremayr resigned, and Taaffe (Fig. 21), instructed by the emperor to form a new ministry, selected members of both parties, with the hope of pursuing a policy of reconciliation. He was, however, deserted by the German Liberals and compelled to turn to the Czechs for support. He persuaded the old Czechs, who during the Auersperg rule had refused to enter the Reichsrat, to take their place; and on October 7 he began his long ministry of fourteen years with the first full House that Cisleithania had known since the compromise with Hungary. The Germans, with the same consummate blindness which had characterized their earlier acts, persistently refused to support the army bill which Taaffe introduced in November, fixing the peace-effective of the Austrian army at 225,000, and the war strength at 800,000. At the last moment the Liberals divided: one group, fearing lest a dissolution of the Reichsrat might result in further Federalist gains, voted for the measure; while the remainder consistently voted against it. The opposition of the upper House was overcome by the creation of new peers; and the Constitutionalists having lost their majority there also, the army measure was voted in December, 1879. But this attitude of the German party destroyed its unity and ended its parliamentary effectiveness, and from this time the old party of 1873 gradually broke up into a number of discordant and mutually antagonistic groups. In consequence of this transformation the Taaffe ministry was remodelled; Poles, Czechs, and Feudalists were admitted, and the Federal coalition came into control there also.

Thus in the same year when the government, following the foreign policy inaugurated by Count Andrassy and continued by his immediate successors, united itself more closely to the German empire by signing the treaty of alliance of 1879, the Cisleithanian state came under the influence of a party strongly anti-German and hostile to the view that Austria was or ought to be essentially a German country. The parties in the Reichsrat were now the Liberals and the Progressive Constitutionalists, who constituted the minority, and the Czechs, the Poles, the Hohenwart Club made up of Feudalists, the Croats, and the Slovenes who were Federalists, and a group of forty landowners committed to neither party. On account of this disunity the Reichsrat lost in standing and influence, and the real power in the state fell into the hands of Emperor Francis Joseph, who, with Count Taaffe, a minister possessing his entire confidence, governed Cisleithania for fourteen years.

A Federalist agitation was now ushered in, and the Czechs and Poles

began to reap the reward of the Constitutionalists' folly and selfishness. An ordinance was issued on April 19, 1880, which prescribed for all government officials in Bohemia and Moravia the use of the native language in any of their transactions with the inhabitants, whether with Czechs or with Germans. This measure was interpreted as being but the first step leading to the elimination of German speech in the crown lands on the German-Austrian boundary as far as the Hungarian frontier, and to the eventual removal of all German officials who could not use Czechish. Riots broke out in Prague; German students and professors were attacked, and the Czechish newspapers openly advocated the hunting of all German officials from the land and the boycotting of all German traders. In May of 1881, the Czechs obtained a concession greatly desired: the division of the University of Prague into two sections, a German and a Czechish, both of which were to receive an equal share of the funds of the university. But in Prague conflicts at once occurred between the German and Czechish students, and in June veritable battles were fought, in which not only students, but the people of Prague, took part. The government was therefore compelled to defer the opening of the Czechish university for a year, and to send General von Kraus to take the place of von Weber, stadtholder of the city. The kingdom of Bohemia, during these years, became the storm-centre of the empire, and it seemed as if the Czechs would win the victory. In 1883, when the diet was dissolved and new elections ordered, the Czechish-Feudal party won 167 seats to only 75 for the Germans, a gain that was due to a series of changes in the electoral laws which reduced the tax-qualification in the cities and rural communes, altered the voting districts, and remodelled the electoral class of the landholders. At the same time the Germans were driven from the agricultural council of Bohemia and from the Prague chamber of commerce, and the Czechs were prevented from gaining control of the Brünn chamber of commerce only by the vigorous protest of the citizens.

In the other mixed provinces of Cisleithania, similar struggles were taking place. The Poles of Galicia persecuted the Ruthenians, who numbered about 3,000,000; while in the south the Slavs were in conflict with the Italians in Trieste, Dalmatia, Istria, and Göritz. In Trieste, the cause of the Italian Irredentists had been made practically hopeless by the attempt of the Italian Oberdank to assassinate Emperor Francis Joseph in September, 1882, on the eve of the celebration in honor of the union of Trieste with the house of Hapsburg. In the diet of Carniola the Slovenes, having won the victory in the elections of 1883, became very aggressive in their demands for school and language priv-

ileges in the six crown lands in which they dwelt. The government at Vienna, notably the minister of justice, Prazak, supported their demand. But the Germans bestirred themselves and maintained their supremacy in Steiermark and Carinthia; and in order to fight the battle on the school question, which after that of language was the most important to the Czechs, they founded in 1880 the German school association. By the erection and endowment of special schools this association hoped to maintain the German language in the widely isolated German districts, and with the considerable funds supplied from the German sections of the empire it actually succeeded in checking somewhat the invasion of the Slavic language. In the Reichsrat also, the successes of the Slavs aroused the divided German party and inspired it with a desire for greater unity of action. In January, 1884, Count Wurmbrand moved that German be recognized as the official language of the empire, provided that the native tongue of each province should be allowed in the courts, the schools, and in daily life; but this motion, hotly debated from January 24 to 29, was rejected by a vote of 174 to 167. Two days later Herbst, thinking to solve the problem in another way, moved that the language ordinance of 1880 should be repealed; but his motion also was lost by 14 votes.

From the German point of view, the situation in Bohemia now grew steadily worse. In the diet of 1884 a motion was carried providing for a delimitation of judicial districts based upon population; the *Lex Krizazala* of the same year forbade Czech children to attend German schools; and resort was had even to projects for changing the electoral districts, which were nothing more than notable examples of the art of gerrymandering. A sorrowful picture of the state of things in Bohemia was given the next year in the Reichsrat by Knotz, when interpellating the ministry. The Czechs he made responsible for many of the existing evils and charged them with excessive brutalities, notably in their attack on the German athletic club at Könighof the year before. The Germans of Bohemia began to feel that the only remedy was the separation of Bohemia into two groups, each with its own language. Such a compromise was involved in Plener's motion of December 22, providing for the rescinding of the language ordinance of 1880 and the delimiting of German and Czechish administrative and judicial districts in such a manner as to insure each a maximum population of the one nationality and a minimum population of the other. Instead of allowing this project to be debated and then submitted to a committee, the majority, under the leadership of Prince Charles Schwarzenberg, rejected the measure on its first reading, and passed to the order of the day. There-

upon the German deputies withdrew from the Landtag and on the 26th issued a manifesto explaining their conduct "to the German people in Bohemia." The racial confusion prevailing in Bohemia was shown by the fact that Schwarzenberg, the leader of the Czechs in the diet, was a German noble, while Schmeykol, the leader of the Bohemian Germans, was of Czechish descent.

But in spite of strong opposition from the German elements the tendency toward decentralization which was thus exhibiting itself encountered but few checks, and on the whole was noted with ample approval by the government at Vienna. In October, 1885, in the address to the throne, the lower House had even gone so far as to declare that the most desirable end to be achieved in the legislation of the session was the organic development of the crown lands, such as Bohemia, Galicia, and others. But the movement toward decentralization had some unexpectedly far-reaching consequences. In the interest of growing nationalities the Poles demanded the removal of the Galician railway system to Lemberg, while the Czechs were equally insistent that Prague should become the headquarters for the Bohemian lines. This, however, was a matter of but little importance, as compared with that of language; for any legislation permitting each race to use its own language was promising to affect most seriously the organization and discipline of the army. In the delegations in October, 1885, in reply to an interpellation of representative Demel regarding the knowledge of German necessary for the under-officers in the army, Count Bylandt, minister of war, said that he was afraid the recent efforts to reorganize schools, especially the common schools, along racial lines might disarrange the excellent conditions already prevailing in the army. He declared with emphasis that in case of war a knowledge of German was indispensable, not only to officers of high rank, but to the under-officers as well, inasmuch as the unity of the army depended on uniformity in the words of command. When the army bill was up for consideration in the Reichsrat in 1888, a strong opposition was made by the Czechs and Magyars on the ground that the clause requiring one-year volunteers to stand an examination for official rank in the reserve at the end of their term of service demanded a knowledge of German. But in the debate that followed, it was shown that of the one-year volunteers three-fifths never could attain the rank of officers because of their ignorance of German, and that at the manoeuvres in one of the northern provinces scarcely one of the officers of the reserve appointed to ordnance duty had sufficiently mastered German as to be able to understand simple orders or to draw up a report. The Czechs then withdrew their opposition, and, little

as they liked it, recognized the necessity of a single language for the army.

While in Cisleithania the races were gaining at the expense of the Reichsrat, and the Germans were suffering defeats and losses in their conflicts with the Slavs, the Magyars were strengthening their hold upon Transleithania, extending the power of the diet, and subjecting the nationalities within their borders more completely to their rule. The Germans of Transylvania and of other parts of the kingdom were unscrupulously Magyarized. In Hungary in 1869, according to the report which the minister of education, Trefort, made in 1885, there were 5819 common schools in which the Magyar language was used, and more than 1200 in which German was employed, whereas in 1884 the former had increased to 7983, while of the latter only 676 remained. It was estimated further that half of the German common schools had been Magyarized, and that in all of Hungary there remained not a single German normal school or gymnasium. A decree of the minister of education forbade the employment of teachers in the common schools who had not obtained a fair knowledge of the Magyar language. The movement went further. In 1885 the minister of justice, Pauler, took away from the jury courts at Hermannstadt the power to try press offences, and in 1887 closed in the same city the school of law which had been founded in 1844. The Transylvanian deputies in the diet complained in vain that the Magyarizing mania was checking the healthy development of the political life of the state.

But that Hungary was not unprogressive in other ways became evident from the reform of the Table of Magnates in 1885, according to which all hereditary lords who paid less than 3000 gulden in land-tax, and a number of ecclesiastical dignitaries, were to be retired, thereby reducing the number by about 300. The same measure authorized the king to name a third of the entire number of the upper House from the mass of the citizens according to their merits and abilities, an arrangement whereby the quality of the upper House in Hungary was bound to be greatly improved. With Croatia, Hungary prolonged the controversy. A new arrangement was made in 1879 to take the place of that of 1873, which was about to expire; but the Croats refused to accept any treaty that did not provide for the incorporation into the kingdom of Croatia of the Military Frontier, which had been only provisionally organized since 1866. In 1881, an agreement was finally reached; but, inasmuch as the population of the kingdom was largely increased by this act, the Croats desired that their representation in the diet at Pesth should be increased proportionately. This demand, however, the Magyars refused,

consenting only to a compromise whereby the deputies in the lower House were increased from 34 to 40, and in the Table of Magnates from 2 to 3. The Magyars refused to give Croatia the port of Fiume, which they had demanded at the same time with the Military Frontier. Still dissatisfied, the Croats continued their opposition to the Magyars; the extreme wing of the National party, under Starcevitich, openly aiming at separation from Hungary. Violent scenes were enacted by this party, both in and out of the diet at Agram. Riots in 1883 over the bilingual inscriptions upon the escutcheons on the bureaux of finance in Agram, forced removals of Radical deputies from the local diet in 1884, and the imprisonment of Radical deputies in 1885 disclosed the discontent of the upholders of a "greater Croatia." Yet the governmental party that adhered to the Croatian *Ausgleich* with Hungary was able to control the extremists and to preserve amicable relations with the Magyars.

Italy too had her race-problems to solve, and she lacked that long-established political and dynastic unity which the presence of the house of Hapsburg for six centuries had given to Austria. Though not broken up into separate peoples as was Austria, Italy was not a homogeneous national unit. In the north were Piedmontese and Lombards, in the centre Tuscans and Romagnols, and in the south Neapolitans and Sicilians, and all of them could boast of separate histories of their own. The north and centre had many traits in common, but both differed from the south in purposes and views, in social organization and industrial activity. In the north had existed better government, a larger and more highly cultured population, a greater wealth per capita, and a more highly developed industry and commerce. In the south the population was sparser, life was largely agriculture, and the people, oppressed for centuries by foreign rulers and ecclesiastical tyrants, were given over to conspiracies and plots that did not cease even after the overthrow of the Bourbons and the incorporation of Rome. In the Romagna still lingered traces of the secret associations and republican plots that had been present there before 1850; in Naples was the Camorra, and in Sicily the Mafia, bandit associations which exercised a sway more powerful than the legitimate government. Brigandage was everywhere prevalent, the profits of which were shared by officials of all ranks and by even the police and the priests. Progress in any direction was inevitably slow and fitful. The heavy deficit, the sharp conflict with the pope, the difficulty of establishing stable relations with the powers abroad, owing to the attitude of the papacy and the sympathy of Roman

Catholics throughout Europe, made the steady and systematic prosecution of reform through a strong government all but an impossibility. Parliamentary confusion prevailed, and party unity was lost sight of in the jealousies of partisan groups.

Until 1876, government had been in the hands of the Right, who represented the northern districts of Italy, were loyal to France, and in general were more experienced than were the other parties in parliamentary matters. A coalition of the leaders of this party, the *Consorteria*, consisting of the representatives of Piedmont, Tuscany, Lombardy, and the Romagna, had controlled the ministry and had met and mastered some of the most serious of Italy's problems. This coalition was, however, overthrown in 1876, when the Left, of whom only Rattazzi (Fig. 22) had ever held a premiership, came to the helm. This party, representing Naples and Sicily, was divided into four groups, each of whose leaders — Depretis, Nicotera, Crispi, and Cairoli—strove to play a leading role, alternately striving to eject his more fortunate rivals by allying himself with the Conservatives. The rapidly succeeding ministries implied, therefore, not



FIG. 22. Rattazzi.

so much a change of systems as a change of persons. The parliamentary problems remained very much the same, though the change of parties marked an advance in that it brought the Left to the side of monarchy, and so aided in the consolidation of the new kingdom. With the change of ministers came also the introduction of a new foreign policy; for the southern leaders, notably Depretis, were determined to abandon their friendly relations with their cognate Latin race on the west and ally themselves with Germany and Austria. The prolonged efforts which the French Clerical party had made from 1873 to 1880 to effect the restoration of the temporal power of the papacy, and so to destroy Italian unity, had weakened the old-time loyalty of Italy for France. Moreover, in the south, where hatred for the Bourbons

lingered, where little gratitude for the half-successful efforts of Napoleon III. in behalf of Italian freedom was felt, and where radical views were entertained regarding monarchy and the church, the traditions were against longer continuing the pro-French attitude. Ferry, by attempting to extend the power of France in Africa, hurt the cause of France in Italy, and called out from the Italians in many quarters exciting demonstrations in behalf of an alliance with Ger-

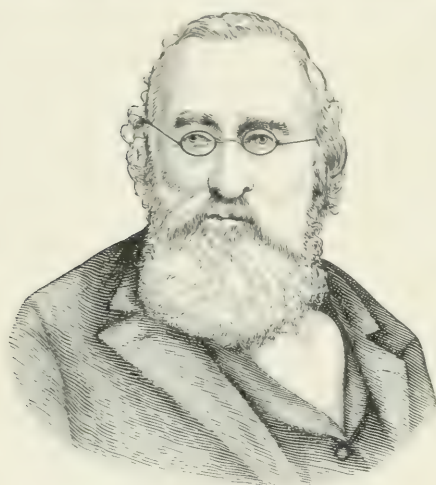


FIG. 23.—Depretis.

many. Italy did not specially desire to turn to Germany, but Bismarck had suggested the alliance, and the German government had been tactful in its dealings with Italy, and the Italians were aware that to the victories of Königgrätz and Sedan they owed the final acquirement of Venice and Rome. In February, 1872, Prince Frederick Charles, the victor of Metz, had visited Victor Emmanuel at Rome, and this courtesy Humbert, the Crown Prince of Italy, had returned, in company with his wife, in May of the same

year. In September, 1873, Victor Emmanuel, accompanied by his ministers, Minghetti and Visconti Venosta, had gone to Vienna and Berlin, and so paved the way for a closer understanding between Italy, Austria, and Germany. Out of regard for the feelings of the pope, the visit was not returned immediately or in Rome; but in 1875 Emperor Francis Joseph met the Italian king in Venice, and Emperor William met him in Milan. Thus the way was prepared for the more intimate alliance which was finally perfected in 1883. The final agreement was not reached without difficulty, however, for the plottings of the Irredentists and the attempt of Oberdank on the life of Francis Joseph endangered Italy's friendly relations with Austria; while the control which the Left had obtained in the Italian Parliament and the frequent changes of ministries there aroused the suspicions of Bismarck, who was endeavoring at this time to make his peace with the Vatican. But in 1882 the negotiations were continued; and Italy, seeing her place in the Mediterranean endangered not only by England's protectorate over Egypt, but as well by the protectorate of France over Tunis, accepted

the advances of Germany and Austria, and with them in the first week of the year 1883 she formed the triple alliance.

Under the Liberals the internal progress of the state was steady though slow. The compulsory education law of 1877, passed during the first ministry of Depretis (Fig. 23), requiring school attendance from the sixth to the ninth year, marked a decided step in advance; for statistics showed that at this time 17,000,000 Italians out of 28,000,000 were still unable to read or write. In 1882 Depretis reorganized also the electoral law by admitting to the suffrage all adult males twenty-one years old, who could sign their names and paid taxes amounting to 19 lire 80 centesimi, a sum so small that practically all who desired to vote could do so. By this measure the number of electors was increased from 621,896 to 2,017,829, a number which in the next ten years increased to 2,934,445. Depretis also abolished the hated grist-tax and provided for the resumption of specie payments, thus getting rid of the inconvertible paper currency that had been forced on the country in 1874. But all these reforms were insufficient to appease the growing discontent within the kingdom, which had been increasing since the elevation of the Left to power. Republicans, Irredentists, Socialists, and Anarchists made life bitter for the government. In 1878 Cairoli, minister of King Humbert, was severely wounded by a certain Passante, and the king himself narrowly escaped assassination at the same hands. The International threw bombs in Florence and Pisa, and Barsanti clubs, named after an Italian corporal who had been executed for disobedience to orders, were organized throughout Italy. Depretis, however, adopted a definite policy of resistance and pursued the intriguers with vigor.

With the papacy, relations remained unsettled and unsatisfactory. Leo XIII., who had succeeded Pius IX. in 1878, remained irreconcilable, and preserved toward the Italian government the same attitude of hostility that Pius IX. had assumed. He protested against the assumption by Humbert of the title King of Italy, and continued to speak of him as only the King of Sardinia; he insisted on the restoration of his secular domains, and declared that they were indispensable to the freedom of the Holy See and the exercise of spiritual power: and when the Jesuit, Curci, in his *Il Vaticano Regio*, declared that "worldly sway was the worm eating into the vitals of the church," had him dealt with ecclesiastically. He protested especially against the action of the Italian government in applying the law concerning the incomes of properties held in mortmain to those held by the *Congregatio de propaganda Fide*, an international society, which, he declared, ought to be independent of all secular authority. Many times the report spread abroad that he was planning to

remove his residence from Italy to Fulda or to the island of Malta ; but these rumors were evidently without serious foundation. In 1885, when a tumult arose in the city on the occasion of the removal of the body of Pius IX., the Vatican and the Quirinal came into conflict ; and the next year Leo XIII. made use of the circumstance to address a general letter to the faithful in Italy, forbidding them to participate in any way, either as electors or elected, in the political life of Italy. This was an unfortunate prohibition in that it prevented the establishment of a strong Conservative party in the Chamber to act as a check upon the Left. The small Ultramontane group, it is true, had made a few gains in the communal elections, notably in Rome ; but it was unimportant in Parliament, where the union between the Moderate Left and the Right created a great middle party that controlled the policy of the government. But by 1887, after the success of the church in the conflict with Prussia, Leo XIII. went further, and, as the price of peace with Italy, demanded of King Humbert sovereignty over Rome and the cession of a small strip of territory running to the sea on both sides of the Tiber. But so great was the indignation in Italy aroused by this demand that the king rejected it and the government refused to discuss any and all negotiations involving the giving back of any portion of temporal power. The pope refused to yield his claims to Rome and the States of the Church ; the king refused to endanger in any way Italian unity by the erection of a separate sovereign jurisdiction within the limits of the kingdom. Officially the pope changed in no way his attitude toward Liberalism and the existing relations between church and state ; in 1889 he protested vigorously against the erection in Rome of a monument to the mediaeval free-thinker, Giordano Bruno, who had been burned in 1600 for heresy and apostasy ; and on every occasion, in encyclicals and letters, reaffirmed the unchangeable position of the church.

Until 1882 Italy had contented herself with the position she occupied in the Mediterranean, hoping that in time she might obtain a footing in Africa, where Tunis and the lands eastward seemed properly to fall within her sphere of influence. But the French occupation of Tunis and England's control in Egypt destroyed this illusion, and forced Depretis to consider the advisability of seeking a colonial empire elsewhere. Therefore to his programme, which already included the alliance with Germany, defence of the monarchy, and war upon the revolutionary parties, he added a colonial clause ; and in September, 1882, in order to strengthen his position, adopted a new policy in regard to the formation of his cabinet, known as the *transformismo*. He announced that he would drop such ministers as were too severely attacked in the Chamber, and

would remodel his cabinet as often as necessary, rejecting no one who would change his mind and adopt a progressive policy. In short, he was turning toward the Conservatives; and as a protest against this policy, which he adopted after the victory in the elections had placed him again in power, five leaders of the Left, Cairoli, Crispi, Nicotera, Zanardelli, and Baccarini, formed against him a coalition known as the *pentarchia*. Yet in spite of them Depretis carried out his plan for five years, in this period remodelling his ministry eight times.

But his colonial policy finally compelled him to yield. A Genoese company had already obtained a footing upon the Bay of Assab, and in 1882 the government purchased there a strip of territory from the Assabaïans, who had acquired it in 1869 from a native chief. Thereupon Mancini, the minister of foreign affairs, tried to reach a better understanding with England; and in the Egyptian conference, which was held in London in 1884, supported England's cause against France. Thus fortified, the Depretis ministry in January, 1885, extended its claims, and, with but little regard for the rights of the Khedive, took possession of Beilul, north of Assab, and seized the seaport Massowah. For the moment, all hopes of further advance were destroyed by the unexpected withdrawal of England from the Sudan after the loss of Khartum, and the death of Gordon in the same month. The situation became critical when Johannes, negus of Abyssinia, made preparations for expelling the Italians by force from Massowah, the natural seaport of his kingdom. His commander, Ras Alula, was first defeated on January 25, 1887; but the tables were turned the day after, when a column of 500 Italians were nearly annihilated in a pass near Dogali. The agitation in Rome was tremendous. The Italian General Gené was recalled, and San Marzano sent in his place. Depretis, attacked by the *Pentarchiens*, was forced to remodel his ministry for the eighth time, and, giving up the *transformismo*, to turn to the Left and admit Crispi and Zanardelli into his cabinet. New credits were asked for and granted, and the numbers and equipment of the army were increased. On July 29, 1887, while these preparations were being made and special army corps were being organized, Depretis died.

But Crispi, called by the king to be minister of foreign affairs and president of the cabinet, took up with vigor the cause of the colonial empire. Negus Johannes, aroused by the hostile attitude of his son-in-law, Menelek of Shoa, who was friendly to the Italians, addressed a letter to King Humbert, saying, "I am a mightier king than thou. We are both Christians, and it pains me to fight with thy army when I would much rather war with the unbelievers." Though

the negus refused to accept the conditions of peace drafted by the Italians, he also refused a fight, and withdrew his army, thus enabling the Italians to extend their protectorate over a stretch of coast including Keren, Zula, and Asmara. When the negus fell, in March, 1889, in the battle near Metemneh, they took advantage of the strife which broke out between his nephew Debeb and Menelek to advance into the upper country. On May 2, 1889, they concluded a treaty of friendship and commerce with Menelek, who had won the victory over his rival, and obtained from him the full recognition of an Italian protectorate.

Russia, unlike Austria and Italy, had been on intimate terms with Prussia since the Polish revolt of 1863, when Bismarck had showed the keenness of his diplomacy by supporting the cause of Russia against the Poles. But after the death of his father, Nicholas I., in 1855, Czar Alexander had taken little part in the affairs of the modern world, desiring the internal development of Russia rather than the extension of her territory. After the Crimean war he had realized how in the past Russia had sacrificed the prosperity of her people for the grandeur of her monarchy, and willingly listened to those who denounced the autocratic policy and the bureaucratic formalism of his predecessor. With a determination to develop the internal resources of his country, he first took in hand the construction of railways and the acceleration of transportation, and gave to commerce a new lease of life. The value of exports, which had amounted in 1841 to only 75,000,000 roubles, rose to 353,000,000 in 1871; while the imports from 64,000,000 to 356,000,000. By the end of the century the good effects of this movement, which reversed the policy of Nicholas I., were everywhere evident; for by that time a network of railroads spanned every part of Russia, Transcaspia had been invaded and a junction had been made with the Pacific Ocean at Vladivostok, which was to open the country, to strengthen its defence, and to extend its commerce.

After 1865 and the failure of the revolt of the Poles, the reform movement, which had begun so auspiciously with the emancipation of the serfs and the promise of a constitution, spent its force; and the Liberals, who wished to introduce western ideas, declined in prominence before the Slavophiles, who believed in Russia for the Russians, and wished to rid the empire of all foreign influences. However, some individual reforms were made: an example of which was the press law of 1865, abrogating the censorship for the two principal cities and introducing the system of the triple warning. Yet the government control was maintained, and warning and eventual suspension inevitably followed

the publication of articles hostile to the government or displeasing to the officials. Newspapers officially recognized, of which the most prominent was the *Moscow Gazette*, edited by Katkoff, an ardent Slavophile, were allowed to remain, and received unusual privileges. Measures in the interest of Russian nationality were passed, as when a school for Russian students was established in 1867 at Leipsic, that the standard of teachers in Russia might be raised. Efforts had been made in 1864, when Taneef was minister of education, to regulate primary schools, and a body of "General Rules" had been issued for the purpose of reorganizing popular education; but the progress made was slow on account of sparsity of



FIG. 24. Count Tolstoi.

population and poverty. In 1871 there were but 24,000 common schools attended by 875,000 scholars, and 424 superior primary schools attended by 27,830 scholars. In 1865, and again in 1872, Tolstoi, minister of education (Fig. 24), who, on account of his attitude toward the whole school system in Russia, became exceedingly unpopular during his long tenure of fifteen years, attacked the "real" schools into which the study of science had been introduced, and made compulsory again the study of Greek and Latin. His whole purpose seems to have been to keep the schools under the control of the state, and by forbidding the study of modern methods and ideas, and by suppressing rigorously all clubs and student associations, to keep the students free from socialistic

delusions. Curiously enough, in spite of such obstacles, Russia, as compared with Western Europe, made great progress in the education of girls; for not only were there academies and lyceums for girls, but inducements were held out to them to adopt useful careers in service under the government. Women were admitted to the universities, and in 1875 it was estimated that 179 were studying surgery and medicine at St. Petersburg. And still another effort was made to extend education among the Russian people. Whereas the ukase of 1874 required of all Russian subjects, without respect to condition or nationality, service in the army



FIG. 25.—Katkoff.

for fifteen years, it allowed this period to be reduced to four years for the conscript who had been through a primary school, and so on to six months for one who had received a superior education.

From the Russian point of view, such modification of the old conditions, when taken in conjunction with improvements of the finances, marked distinct advance in progress; but unfortunately these changes for the better were accompanied on one hand by bureaucracy and Pan-slavism, on the other by Nihilism—two movements which were hostile not only to each other, but to all kinds of reform. The former was the inevitable consequence of the reaction which followed the uprising of the Poles; the latter owed its origin partly to the proletariat which came into existence after the emancipation of the serfs, partly to the younger

generation who had viewed with disappointment and regret the continued reactionary policy. The aim of the Panslavists was to Russianize all non-Russian elements, and their chief agent was the Moscow committee, under the leadership of Katkoff (Fig. 25), editor of the *Moscow Gazette*, and of Aksakoff (Fig. 26), author and journalist, editor of *Russia*, who hated European reforms and wished Russia to return to her old national organization. To these men, one of the most serviceable instruments of their policy was the faith of the Greek Church, and to extend this became an object of their propaganda. Just as Roman Catholicism had been driven out of Poland, so now an attempt was made to reduce to subjection that branch of the Greek Church which had united to Rome in 1595. The Ruthenians of this United Greek Church in Poland



FIG. 26. Aksakoff.

were forbidden to print any book in their language, to establish lecture courses, or give theatrical presentations. The Lutheran Church of the Baltic provinces was also attacked, and the German officials were removed. Finally in 1876, as a first step looking to the more complete assimilation of these provinces, the office of governor-general was abolished altogether. The Panslavists beyond the frontiers made it their business to accustom the Slavs of European Turkey to regard Russia as their natural protector, and so to extend Russian influence through the whole Balkan peninsula. They did their utmost to bring on the Russo-Turkish war of 1877, and rejoiced greatly in the treaty of San Stefano, which seemed to concede to them success in their undertaking. But

they were disillusioned by the treaty of Berlin, which reduced their Greater Bulgaria and cut down the size of the other Slavic states to such an extent as to call forth the remark from Aksakoff that the Congress of Berlin had placed a fool's cap and bells on the head of Russia.

Nihilism, on the other hand, unlike Panslavism, existed at first as an idea in the minds of but few persons, and found no expression in deeds; but later it spread more widely among the people and exhibited characteristics of a social movement. Its inspiration was received largely from abroad; and having no organization or fixed policy, it accomplished no important results. Its various societies were modelled after similar organizations in Western Europe, and reproduced very nearly the social democracy as represented in the teachings of Herzen, Bakunin, and Karl Marx. A "social revolutionary" party had been formed in 1874; but the government arrested 770 persons and imprisoned 200, following it so closely as practically to destroy it. Again in 1876 a "people's" party was formed for the purpose of stirring up a spirit of revolution among the people, but this party also accomplished but little. However, after the war, the movement assumed a much more dangerous character. The defeats before Plevna, the inability of the generals to cope with the situation, the enormous peculations in the army, and the corruption and unreliability of officials generally aggravated the hatred felt by the better classes for an administration whose highest ends appeared to the Radicals to consist of inquisitorial practices of the secret police and endless deportations to Siberia. A secret committee, whose leader was Tseeljaboff, was organized, with accomplices among government officials and a plentiful supply of money at command. Nihilism now developed new characteristics: plots and bombs taking the place of pamphlets and appeals to the peasantry. The Nihilists, passing over the working class, recruited their ranks from the half-cultured class, from among the graduates of the gymnasia, and from the universities; and their object at this time was to force the government to grant a constitution, liberty of the press, and political liberty in general. Inasmuch as constitutions had been granted to Rumania and Bulgaria, why, the Nihilists asked, should not Russia have one? Their ideas were not very definite, the only immediate purpose being to destroy the existing state of things by any means that were available. The party owed its strength not to its number, which was perhaps less than a hundred in all, but to the fact that each of its members was bound to obey the command of the committee, and that its accomplices were to be found among the nobility, in the government bureaux, and even in the ranks of the secret police itself.

Now followed a régime of terror which was initiated by the attempted

assassination of the deputy mayor of St. Petersburg, General Tropoff, by Vera Sassalich, on February 5, 1878. On August 16, General Mezenzoff, chief of the third section (secret police) of the imperial chancery, was murdered by an unknown Nihilist; and more threatening still, as indicating a wide sympathy for the assassins, was the fact that Vera Sassalich was acquitted by a jury of St. Petersburg, and that this event was greeted with acclamations by an audience belonging to the higher social classes. That such acquittal might not be possible again, the government withdrew all such cases from the competency of jury courts, and made them amenable to the military tribunals. The Moscow Panslavic committee was broken up, and Aksakoff expelled from the city. Thereupon began a series of onslaughts on the officials of the police and the administration, unexampled in modern times. So secret was the organization and so successful the attempts to foil the efforts of the police that people believed in the existence of a great Nihilistic system which spread its nets over all the land, and which had as its head an invisible executive, and as its main instrument a tribunal whose duty it was to pronounce death sentences upon unpopular officials and condemn to the same fate all traitors of the order. Many of these details were probably imaginary, though the party, small as it doubtless was, possessed a wonderful organization and an abundance of apparatus in the way of secret printing-presses for the printing of pamphlets and laboratories for the preparation of bombs. In February, 1879, Prince Krapotkin, governor of Kharkoff, was murdered, and attacks were made on other important officials, among them Count Tscharkoff, Colonel Knoop, and chief of police Petrowski. The Nihilists now struck higher, and on March 25 attempted to murder Drentelen, who had succeeded Mezenzoff as chief of the third section. Their failure in this, and the unremitting efforts of the government to ferret out their hiding-places and seize the conspirators, only spurred them to bolder efforts. Proclamations announced that Alexander II. himself would be their next victim; and true to the threat, a certain Nihilist, Solovyeff, on April 14, fired at the czar while he was walking in the neighborhood of the Winter Palace. The czar escaped, and the assassin Solovyeff was seized and executed; but this incident, together with news of further plots, forced the government to take extraordinary measures. The country was divided into six great military districts, of which the governors-general—Gourko for St. Petersburg, Loris-Melikoff for Kharkoff, and Todleben for Odessa—were invested with dictatorial powers. The governors-general of Moscow, Kieff, and Warsaw were invested with like authority. These rigorous measures effected a temporary abatement of the terrors;

but the activity of the Nihilists was not lessened. Proclamations were spread broadcast through the army, and the death sentence was decreed against twenty-four high officials. The Nihilists restated their demands and threatened the czar if he did not make an effort to satisfy them. In December, 1879, they made the second attempt to take his life by destroying the imperial baggage-train with dynamite. Again the czar escaped, but only because of an error committed by the officials in arranging the order of the trains; and the main instigator of the plot, Hartmann, evaded the police and fled to France. A year or two later



FIG. 27.—General Loris-Melikoff.

a controversy arose between Russia and France about this Hartmann, France refusing to extradite the refugee because the government did not consider his identification complete. Hartmann went to London in 1881, and the matter was carried no further. But the Nihilists were not yet satisfied. On February 17, 1880, under the dining-room of the Winter Palace at St. Petersburg, an explosion took place which was intended to destroy the czar and his family. Many of the guards were killed or wounded, but owing to a delay in the dinner-hour, the czar again

PLATE III.



Alexander III., Czar of Russia.

escaped with his life. In consequence of allowing the conspirator, one Chalturin, to escape, Gourko, governor-general of St. Petersburg, was removed from his post, and a commission having practically unlimited powers was appointed, with Loris-Melikoff at its head. But in spite of all its precautions, another attempt was made on the life of the czar. This time, however, March 3, 1880, the perpetrator, a certain Mlodetzki, was caught and hanged.

Loris-Melikoff (Fig. 27), having now become convinced that Nihilism was not to be suppressed by violent means, turned his attention to the much-needed reforms. He revised the press laws and prison system, abolished the hated "third section," and reorganized the police system. To aid in carrying out this policy, several of the ministers were dismissed, among them the obnoxious minister of education, Tolstoi, who had not only treated the students with great severity, but had dealt with the whole educational system as if it had been a police machine. Administrative officials were shifted: Tottleben went to Wilna, and Drentelen to Odessa, as governors-general; and de Giers took the place of Gortchakoff as minister of foreign affairs. Loris-Melikoff, furthermore, got permission from the czar to summon a consultative assembly which should be composed of delegates from the provincial and municipal councils. A ukase to this effect was drawn up ready for the imperial signature and for publication in the official gazette, when the czar was overtaken by the fate which he had five times escaped. On March 13, 1881, as he was returning to the palace from a military review, accompanied by his son, his carriage was wrecked by a dynamite bomb, and himself so cruelly wounded that he died within an hour. His eldest and more liberal-minded son, Constantine, having died in 1865, he was succeeded by his second son, who took the title Alexander III.

Alexander III. (PLATE III.), the new czar, in his early days had shown such interest in liberal reforms, and had been on such friendly terms with the Panslavist leaders as to cause many of his subjects to hope that he would meet the chief demands of the democratic party by establishing a parliamentary constitution and so bringing Russia into line with the other European states. At first he seemed inclined to carry out his father's wishes and to allow the publication of the last rescript of Alexander II., providing for the increase of the imperial council by representatives of the various estates. But the threats of the Nihilists, the dangerous position in which he was placed, and the fear lest the proposed legislative body might become revolutionary, led him to change his mind. The rescript was not issued; and shortly afterward, in a manifesto of May 11, he made it clear that Russia was to be purged of all

that savored of western institutions and ideas, and to be established firmly on a Muscovite basis. Under the influence of Pobedonostzeff (Fig. 28), procurator-general of the Most Holy Synod and his tutor in earlier days, he pronounced in favor of absolute power bestowed upon him by God for the benefit of his subjects and declared that he was determined to draw ever more tightly the reins of power. This manifesto made it clear to Loris-Melikoff that his services were no longer needed, and he

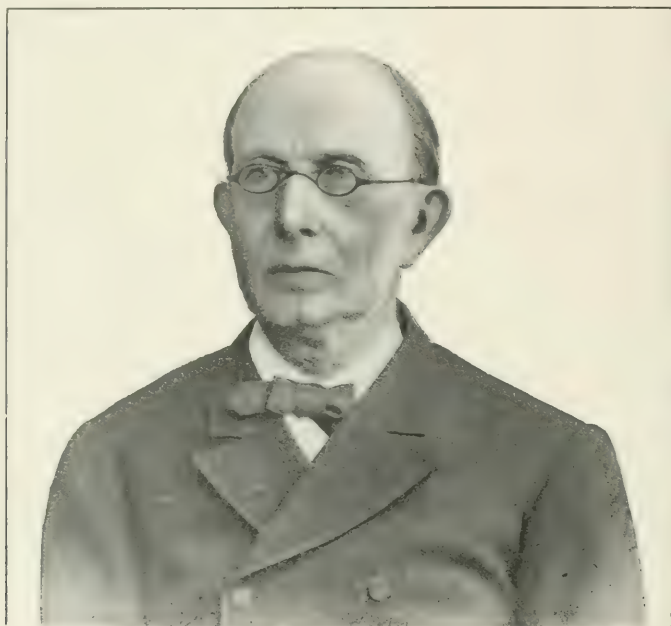


FIG. 28.—Pobedonostzeff.

resigned May 16, to be succeeded by Ignatieff (Fig. 29) as minister of the interior. Although Pobedonostzeff was more interested in orthodoxy than in Panslavism, yet the Panslavists found much cause for rejoicing in the manifesto, which Katkoff declared in the *Moscow Gazette* must cause the "many-headed Hydra of lies and deceits to lay down its arms." Katkoff himself, a determined enemy of European culture, was appointed privy-councillor and tutor of the czarevitch; and it became evident that the policy of the new czar was to be absolute, orthodox, and Panslavist, and in no way reformatory, tolerant, and western.

Having thus made clear his policy, Alexander now retired to the solitary castle of Gatschina, and there by every precaution guarded himself and his family from the attacks of Nihilists. Government lay in

the hands of the reactionary ministers, whose watchword and policy was the renunciation of all West European ways. It soon became evident that they were determined to strengthen the Slavic elements at the expense of the non-Slavic, for the army received a national uniform, sheepskin cap, wide trousers, and high boots, and attacks were made on the Jews, for whom the Russian peasantry entertained a deep-seated hatred. In 1882 an uprising against them took place in the Podolian city of Balta; fire, plundering, and murder completed a fanatical work of devastation, and Jews in large numbers fled from Russia. The world outside was enraged at the indifference which the Russian government displayed toward the brutality of the peasants and subordinate officials.

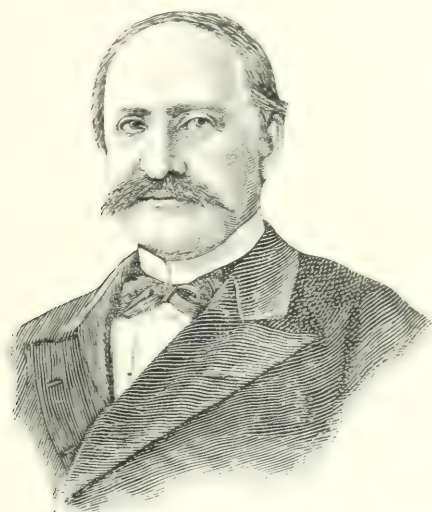


FIG. 29. Count Ignatieff.

Ignatieff not only made no effort to check the outrages, but even seemed anxious to increase the sufferings of the oppressed people; for the edicts of May, 1882, forbade the Jews to dwell outside the cities where they already resided, to acquire landed property, and to engage in certain forms of trade. The harshness with which the minister of the interior pursued these measures, his inability to check Nihilism, and his project of provincial assemblies throughout Russia, instead of one central assembly at St. Petersburg, which project Pobedonostzoff and Katkoff opposed, cost him his position, and on June 12, 1882, he was dismissed from office. His successor proved to be the former minister of public instruction, the hated Count Tolstoi, a Conservative, an enemy of politi-

ical reforms, and a fanatic on the subject of classics in the schools of Russia. But whatever may have been his view on politics and administration, he refused to follow Ignatieff's policy, and stopped the outrages against the Jews. However, by new press regulations he tried to gain greater control over the newspapers, and in the schools resumed his old attack on science studies, insisting more strongly than ever on the superiority of classical studies and their use in checking the growth of Nihilism. On the side of social reforms he carried out the wishes of Alexander III., who had the condition of the emancipated peasantry very much at heart. That the peasants might gain control of their lands, the government advanced 12,000,000 roubles annually; and that they might be less heavily burdened, it abolished the poll-tax in 1886, and in its place substituted taxes on land, incomes, and inheritances, more equitably distributed among the population.

But notwithstanding these reform measures, and in spite of trials and sentences to death, the Nihilists unremittently pursued their policy and continued to plot against the lives of high officials. But the actual number of the active Nihilists was always small; and as years went by, so experienced and trained had the police become that by 1885, when the coronation was finally held, Nihilistic excesses were of rare occurrence. Outside of Russia, conspirators still plotted, and in 1887 a Nihilistic plot was discovered among the officers and men of the army and navy. On March 13, 1887, an attempt was made to assassinate Alexander himself; but so heavy were the reprisals that followed, that Nihilism sank under the weight. Many Nihilists were hanged, more were deported or sentenced to imprisonment at hard labor, and, though the czar mitigated some of the capital sentences, the Nihilists were discouraged, and from this time forward made but few attempts to reassert their power.

PLATE IV.



William Ewart Gladstone.

From a photograph by Rau, Philadelphia.

CHAPTER III.

ENGLAND, NORWAY AND SWEDEN, AND SPAIN.

AFTER the death of Palmerston in 1865 and the failure of his foreign policy, England withdrew more and more from affairs abroad and concentrated her attention upon her commercial interests and domestic necessities. The Fenians in Ireland were openly advocating an armed movement for the purpose of winning the independence of the Irish people; and from 1865 to 1868 the government, in order to maintain its authority, felt obliged to arrest some of the prominent leaders and to hang three for murder. Consequently, it is not surprising that the attention of the English people should have been called anew to Ireland, and that Irish questions should have become the issues which agitated the electors of 1868. Gladstone (PLATE IV.), in an election speech delivered in Lancashire, said that the Irish upas-tree had three branches: the Established Church, the system of land tenure, and the system of national education; and that in these three directions did he intend, in case of success, to effect reforms. As Liberals won the elections by a majority of 120, Gladstone formed an especially strong Liberal ministry and entered upon his work of pacifying Ireland.

The first measure of the ministry was the disestablishment of the Irish church, which for centuries had represented only a minority of the Irish people and had been kept alive with the greatest difficulty and at the greatest expense. To the Irish people it stood, perhaps, as the most significant token of their oppression; and during a debate in the House of Commons a year before, one of the Irish members had described it as a scandalous and monstrous anomaly. At that time Gladstone had said that the time had come when the Irish church, as an institution, must cease to exist; and his first measure, which was introduced on March 1, 1869, provided for the disestablishment and partial disendowment of the Irish state church. Though the bill was long and bitterly resisted by the opposition led by Disraeli, it was finally carried in the House of Commons by a majority of 176 to 149, and on July 26 received the royal assent. Then came the attempt to reform the land system, which as maintained by England had been for centuries productive of discontent and disorder. Nine-tenths of the cultivable land

was owned by 10,000 persons, the remaining tenth by 72,000. The number of tenancies amounted to 600,000, and up to this time any proposal to render the tenant secure against the arbitrary power of the landlord to evict a tenant had been construed as an infringement upon the rights of the landlord class. On February 15, 1870, Gladstone introduced the land bill, whereby he endeavored to adjust the relations existing between landlord and tenant. Abandoning the position taken by his predecessors, and denying that the prerogatives of the landlords were unlimited and absolute, he based his action on the new principle that the tenant had a certain property or partnership in the land which he tilled, and that so long as he paid his rent he could not be evicted. The new measure recognized, first of all, the legality of the Ulster tenant-right, whereby an outgoing tenant could sell the good-will of a farm to the incoming tenant without interference from the landlord, an arrangement which had formerly been "permitted," but not legalized. In the second place, the measure granted to an evicted tenant a compensation, proportionally larger for a small farm than for a great one, but in no case to exceed £250. Furthermore it allowed compensation for improvements made by the tenant; and finally, it was planned to promote purchase of tenancies, the money for which was to be advanced for the greater part by the state, and to be paid back in annual installments. As this measure, if passed, would put an end to the reign of absolute landlordism in Ireland, it naturally met with opposition—which was, however, but slight as compared with that which the disestablishment bill had aroused. The bill was finally passed in May, and received the royal assent in August, 1870.

Gladstone, having now redeemed a part of his pledge, passed on with undiminished energy to achieve other reforms which he felt were almost as greatly needed as those already effected. After the disestablishment of the Irish church and the reform of the land law came the great question of education, which was in crying need of revision, not in Ireland only, but in England also. The elementary education act brought in by W. E. Forster (Fig. 30), vice-president of the council and acting minister of education, made provision for the first time in England of a national school system, whereby the local districts were to have the power to levy a rate, and to expend it either in establishing new schools or in aiding schools already existing. By means of such a law it was hoped that the children of the poorer classes, who under the old system had been without education of any kind, would be given the necessary elementary training. The bill was opposed by the Nonconformists, who feared lest schools so aided by the state should be used to further the interests of

the church; and thus it served for the moment to alienate a large number of the supporters of the Liberal party. The measure was, however, eventually passed, and in the working proved of great efficiency. The school boards became active and energetic educational agents, for the important character of the work to be done attracted to them men of rank and influence, of all classes and creeds. Through them the government provided education for all the children of the kingdom, and made the attendance to a certain extent compulsory, though refusing to go to extremes by making attendance obligatory on all of a certain



FIG. 30. W. E. Forster. From a photograph by Elliott & Fry, London, England.

age. Thus only to a limited extent did elementary education in England become free, lay, and compulsory. An important innovation was introduced the next year in the higher education, when both Oxford and Cambridge were thrown open to Roman Catholics and Nonconformists by the abolition of religious tests.

Gladstone next attacked the army, where the need of reform had been evident for years. Since the Crimean war, little had been done in the way of reorganization and improvement; and though many men in the House of Commons had called attention to abuses, little notice had been taken of them. Gladstone demanded that the purchasing of officers' commissions in the army should be abolished, on the ground that such a system tended to place wealth and favoritism before merit. Hitherto, a

lieutenant's commission could be obtained only by the payment of so much money to the retiring officer, and the price had not been determined by the state, but had been dependent upon the market value of such commission at any given time. Thus, poor men had been debarred from promotion, and a premium had been placed upon wealth. When the House of Lords refused to pass the measure framed by Cardwell, minister of war, on the ground that it attacked what may be called their vested interests, Gladstone advised the queen to abrogate the custom, which rested not on legislative enactment, but on royal ordinance. This appeal to the royal prerogative, effective as it was at the time, probably injured the prestige of this great reform ministry in the end; but the abolition of purchase had the momentous effect of giving a fair chance to men of industry and talent as well as to men of wealth. The other features of Cardwell's army measure were no less important. Adopting in principle the Prussian system, Cardwell sought to apply it to the very different conditions prevailing in England. To take the place of a long service of twenty-five years, he devised a short service whereby a man, after serving six years with the colors, was to pass into the reserve; and once in the reserve, he might carry on his ordinary pursuits, though he was liable at any time during a succeeding six years to be called to the front. Cardwell also provided for a "territorializing" of the regiments by assigning each to a certain county to which it was attached by historical or sentimental ties, and calling it by the name of the county.

Reform followed reform; yet it is probable many of the measures, important as they were, were pushed through too rapidly and without sufficient regard for the sensibilities of many classes of the population. The ballot bill especially conferred a boon upon the people at large by abolishing many abuses existing in the parliamentary and municipal elections; yet it was long opposed by those who objected to secret voting on principle and was not finally passed by the House of Lords until 1872. Of most of the reform measures little but good can be said, but at the same time there was much dissatisfaction. The licensing act angered the liquor dealers; the army reform alienated Conservatives, and the elementary education bill the Nonconformists; while the Irish land law aroused the hostility of the landlords. Gladstone had endeavored to do too much at once; moreover his ministry had been made unpopular by men like Lowe, who expressed himself too sarcastically in his budgets, and like Ayrton, commissioner of public works, who was wanting in tact and diplomacy and gave offence widely. In foreign relations the Gladstone ministry could not be said to have been successful. Lord

Granville, minister of foreign affairs, was blamed for not preventing Russia from gaining control once more in the Black Sea. The decision of the Geneva tribunal in 1872 also reflected, though most unjustly, on the Gladstone ministry. By a majority of four to one—Adams representing the United States, Sclopis Italy, Staempfli Switzerland, d'Itajuba Brazil, and Cockburn Great Britain—the tribunal awarded to the United States the sum of \$15,500,000 in gold as the indemnity to be paid for the depredations of the *Alabama*. In dissenting from the decision of the tribunal Sir Alexander Cockburn said: "The award appears to me to be open to grave exceptions, but I trust that by the British people it will be accepted with the submission and respect which is due to the decision of a tribunal by whose award it has freely consented to abide. The United States will see, I trust, in the consent of Great Britain, an honest desire to atone for any errors or omissions which an impartial judgment might find to have existed, so that in time to come no sense of past wrong remaining unredressed will stand in the way of the friendly and harmonious relations which should subsist between two great and kindred nations."

Finally early in 1873 the premier proposed to make the University of Dublin independent of the English church, but having been defeated by a majority of three votes (287 to 284) he resigned, March 12. Disraeli, however, was not ready to form a Conservative cabinet, and Gladstone remained in office until February, 1874, when he dissolved Parliament and appealed to the country. The new elections returned a Conservative majority of fifty, and Disraeli (Fig. 31) became prime minister, with Lord Derby as minister of foreign affairs. Then Gladstone announced his withdrawal from the leadership of the Liberal party and Lord Hartington took his place.

Inasmuch as the accession of the Conservatives had been the result of a reaction against the reform policy of the preceding ministry, it was to be expected that Disraeli would concern himself with foreign affairs rather than with domestic legislation. But during the earlier years he took under consideration a number of important measures, some of which became embodied in statutes. Many of the reforms touching the social condition of the people, especially those relating to the public health, the factories, and the workshops, originated with Viscount Cross, home secretary, and furthered that scheme of social legislation which has characterized the history of the last twenty-five years in England. The factory act of 1874 reduced the hours of labor for women and children; the artisan's dwelling act of 1875 authorized local authorities to condemn worthless tenements and to erect new buildings on the old sites;

the alkali act sought to prevent injury to health from alkali works, while the pollution of rivers act of 1876 was designed to check the contaminating of streams from factories and other places. In 1876, through the efforts of Plimsoll, a merchant's shipping act was passed, the object of which was to prevent the overloading of vessels and to improve the condition of the merchant seamen. Important as many of these measures were, they did not, in consequence of the form in which they were drawn, prove as efficacious as it was hoped they would; and nearly all of them had to be reinforced by later legislation.



FIG. 31.—Benjamin Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield).

But Disraeli's main purpose was to inaugurate a brilliant foreign policy. When the insurrection of the Christian population of Turkey in 1875 opened the Eastern question, the premier brought England to the front as the upholder of the integrity of the Ottoman empire; and when Russia in the war which followed pushed her way into Ottoman territory as far as Adrianople, he sent a fleet through the Dardanelles, and in February, 1878, seemed ready to go to war with the Muscovite power. At the congress of Berlin he opposed at every point the treaty of San Stefano, demanded the complete revision of its terms, cut down the Greater Bulgaria which Russia desired to erect, and obtained the consent of the sultan to occupy the island of Cyprus. Indications of this new policy had already been evident in 1875, when the English government bought for £4,000,000 the 176,000 shares which the Khedive of Egypt held in the Suez Canal. Its imperial character was further shown

by the wars which Disraeli carried on in Afghanistan, where an attempt was made to establish British influence in that country; and in South Africa, where a war carried on with the Zulus under Cetewayo, proved for the moment a menace to the prestige of British arms. This determination to maintain the empire of England, which had already won for Disraeli the title of Lord Beaconsfield (August 12, 1876), found its highest expression in the despatch of the Prince of Wales (Fig. 32) to India in 1875 and the passage of the royal titles bill in Parliament in 1876, whereby the queen assumed the title of Empress of India, and as such was proclaimed at a great *Durbar* in Delhi, January 1, 1877. But the policy savored too much of Jingoism and vainglory, and not only wearied the country, but roused as great an opposition as had ever



FIG. 32. Albert Edward, Prince of Wales.

the reforms of Gladstone. The neglect of home industries, the failures in business, the distress caused by the long and severe winter of 1878 and 1879, and the burden of heavy and unnecessary wars, roused very general feeling against the government which would pursue an imperial phantom while the people were suffering. Lord Beaconsfield thought he could best overcome the opposition by a dissolution of Parliament and an appeal to the country. But he had not counted on the widespread effects of the depression in trade. Gladstone, who had returned to the political arena when the Bulgarian atrocities startled the western world, took up the burden of leadership, and in his "Midlothian tour" of 1880 dissected with wonderful skill and extraordinary eloquence the entire policy of his opponents. The result of the elections was a brilliant

victory for the Liberals. In April, 1880, Gladstone returned to the premiership with a Liberal membership of 343, a majority of one hundred and twenty.

Gladstone, so far as foreign affairs were concerned, made every effort to reverse the policy of his predecessor. He supported the Greeks against the Turks when the boundary question came up for settlement; withdrew the British garrisons from Kabul and Kandahar; and after the defeat of the British by the Boers at Majuba Hill in 1880, consented to the demand for Boer independence in a treaty made that year. But the interest of the period did not lie in affairs abroad. Far more significant was the growth of the Radical party and the appearance in the second



FIG. 33.—Sir Charles Dilke. (From a photograph by Elliott & Fry, London, England.)

Gladstone ministry of two of its younger representatives, Joseph Chamberlain, who, having gained distinction in connection with the local government of Birmingham, was given a place in the Cabinet as president of the Board of Trade, and Sir Charles Dilke (Fig. 33), who was made under-secretary for foreign affairs. The inclusion of these younger Radicals marked a noteworthy break from the policy of the older days, when aristocrats or older and tried men of experience had been the premier's colleagues. But radicalism had grown rapidly since 1874. In the great cities of the north and in London the spirit of radicalism had spread widely, and a Radical party was practically already in exist-

ence which was prepared to dictate conditions to the Liberals and to demand a place in the government. To this demand Gladstone yielded, and Chamberlain was admitted to the Cabinet, while Dilke, though outside the Cabinet, became a member of the ministry.

Equally significant with this event was the appearance in the House of Commons of sixty Irish members committed to the policy known as Home Rule. The Home Rule agitation had begun about the year 1870 when the land bill had become law; and at the general elections of 1874 fifty-eight Home Rulers had been returned to Parliament from Ireland. But during the Disraeli government they had succeeded in accomplishing nothing. The distress of the farming population in



FIG. 34.—Charles Stewart Parnell.

Ireland during the years after 1876 gave new strength to the movement, and in 1879 Michael Davitt formed the Irish National Land League. It was at this time that Charles Stewart Parnell (Fig. 34), who about the year 1877 had become the head of a small party of advanced Home Rulers in the House of Commons, came definitely to the front as the leader of the Home Rule movement, and began his career as an able but unscrupulous champion of the Irish cause. The condition of Ireland grew steadily worse. Evictions increased from 463 families in 1877 to 980 in 1878, from 1238 in 1879 to 2110 by the end of the year 1880. The behavior and speeches of the Land Leaguers became

more threatening, and the League, constituting itself, as it were, the supreme authority in Ireland, bade Irish farmers defend evicted tenants, and ordered the tenantry on pain of death not to pay their rent to English landlords; declaring, as Dillon said, that the outcome of the agitation would be an organized strike of 300,000 men against rent. When called upon in Parliament to explain his speech, Dillon denied that he had done any wrong in advising the farmers of Ireland to resist an unjust law, and asserted that Irish tactics would henceforth take the form of obstruction within Parliament and force outside. To this W. E. Forster, chief secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, replied menacingly, hinting at the revival of the old policy of coercion. In the memorable debate of August, 1880, lay the beginnings of the warfare between the English government and the Land League which was to furnish a series of dramatic events during the second Gladstonian ministry.

In the summer of 1880 a new instrument came to the hand of the Leaguers—the boycott. Captain Boycott was an English agent of Lord Earne, a County Mayo proprietor, who had served notices on Lord Earne's tenants. The latter retaliated by refusing to have anything to do with him themselves, and by preventing anyone else from aiding or supporting him. Never was man more isolated. Only by the aid of the police was he able to harvest his crops and his grain. In the hands of the Irish tenantry the boycott became a terrible weapon against the landlords and was employed with telling effect. Landlords against whom the League declared a boycott were placed on a black list; no one in sympathy with the League would buy of them, sell to them, or have any dealings with them. The Irish Protestants, known as Orangemen, came to the aid of the landlords and endeavored to destroy the force of the boycott; but they were not always successful. While the leaders of the League refused to adopt other than strictly legal methods, of which the boycott was one, their followers were by no means always so careful. The burning of houses and farms, the mutilation of cattle, and even murders became the order of the day, and the perpetrators of the crimes were rarely discovered. Every illegal act was naturally charged against the Land League. Its enemies credited it with the disturbed state of Ireland, and even said that by the incendiary speeches of its leaders it had incited the farmers to commit outrages and crimes. Gladstone, adopting this view of the case, and advised by Forster, the chief secretary, first caused Parnell and others to be indicted for lawlessness. But the jury having failed to agree on a verdict, Forster brought in his coercion bill in January, 1881, designed to vest in the Lord

Lieutenant of Ireland power to arrest every one whom he held guilty of high treason, or whose liberty he regarded as dangerous to the peace of the country. To frustrate the passage of this measure the Home Rulers had recourse to a policy of persistent obstruction. By preventing the introduction of the measure and by prolonging debate, they tried to put off indefinitely all consideration of the matter. From January 24 to February 2 the deadlock continued. Finally on February 2, after a continuous sitting of forty-one hours, the speaker determined to bring matters to a close. Observing that the motion to bring in the bill had been under discussion for five days, and that moreover, as the parliamentary tradition of England knew nothing of closure, nothing could be done to check obstruction, he declared that he would refuse to recognize any more members, and would put the main question. Thereupon the Irish members left the House in a body, and remained away until the next day. But on their return twenty-eight of them were expelled, on the charge of having broken parliamentary rules, and the deadlock having thus been broken the House proceeded to amend its rules to conform with the recent action of the speaker. The new rules presented February 9 were designed to check frequent motions for adjournment, to prevent tedious and irrelevant debate, and by the use of the closure, should a three-fourths majority be obtained, to put the question without further debate. The coercion bill was finally passed on February 25, and on March 2 received the royal assent; and an arms bill, forbidding the possession of firearms in Ireland, was passed during March.

But at the same time that it was adopting this coercive measure, the government was also planning the adoption of a scheme of conciliation. The Irish land bill, introduced in April and passed in July, was opposed by both the Home Rulers and the Conservatives, and as amended in the House of Lords seemed to satisfy no one. It provided for the appointment of a royal commission, with discretionary power, to accommodate disputes between landlords and tenants, as well as to fix the rents of farms for fifteen years. The state furthermore promised to aid the tenants in purchasing or freeing their lands. But the land law gained few Irish adherents, and the League went on with its work. The government then carried out its threat; and after a great League meeting in Dublin (August, 1881) had declared for Home Rule, and Parnell had made what the government thought were inflammatory speeches, Gladstone put the law of coercion into operation. Parnell, Dillon, Sexton, O'Kelly, O'Brien, and Quinn were seized and confined in Kilmainham jail. But imprisoning the leaders did not have the desired effect. Organization

sprung up in Ireland to continue the agitation, and a manifesto appeared forbidding the tenants to pay any rent whatsoever. The government retaliated by declaring the Land League illegal and consequently dissolved, and Forster, having been granted extraordinary powers, arrested men by the hundreds. By April, 918 persons had been seized, and of these 600 had been imprisoned. Almost a reign of terror prevailed in Ireland. Secret societies came into existence; and the coercion act of 1880 was everywhere resisted.

This policy aroused opposition not only in Ireland, but in England also. Public opinion turned against coercion and demanded a radical change. Gladstone therefore determined on a reversal of tactics. He had already made overtures to the leaders in Kilmainham jail, promising freedom on condition that they leave the country; but these offers had been steadfastly refused. He then released Parnell and afterward Davitt on condition that the Home Rulers should in Parliament support the Liberal measures, an understanding that was known as the Kilmainham treaty. Forster, who had opposed this concession on the part of the government, at once resigned, taking his leave in a speech bitterly attacking the government that had acted contrary to his advice; charging Parnell with being the instigator of the Irish revolt, and calling him the "uncrowned King of Ireland." Five days afterward the policy of conciliation took new form in the appointment of Lord Frederick Cavendish as chief secretary. But the bad effects of the Forster methods had not spent themselves. On May 6, 1882, Lord Frederick Cavendish (Fig. 35) and the permanent secretary, Burke, were murdered in Phoenix Park, Dublin, by a band of conspirators calling themselves the Invincibles, men of the lower classes, ignorant and misguided, who disliked the compromise tactics of Parnell, and wished to render all conciliation impossible. A cry of horror went up from England and no less from Ireland. So outrageous was the crime that both sides felt the impossibility of the government's pursuing longer a policy of conciliation. After an eight months' search the assassins were discovered, but then only through the aid of an informer, James Carey, the best educated and the basest of all implicated in the crime. Five were hanged and the others were imprisoned for life. Carey himself, who was fleeing from England, was shot down on board ship near Delagoa Bay by one O'Donnell, who, it is supposed, had followed him for that purpose.

The tragedy of May 6 rendered inevitable a second coercion bill. This was drafted on May 11, and was finally passed as the prevention of crimes act. It empowered the police to search houses, arrest suspicious persons, and most important of all, authorized the Lord Lieutenant,

when in his judgment it was necessary, to appoint a special jury for the trial of crimes. The Irish members employed every means at their disposal to obstruct the passage of the measure, and for two months blocked all progress. It was not until fifteen of the members had been "suspended" that the measure was finally passed. The new policy was tempered by the passage of an arrears bill (August 10), according to which more than 13,000 tenants were forgiven over £600,000 of rent. But the agitation did not decrease. During 1883 more murders were

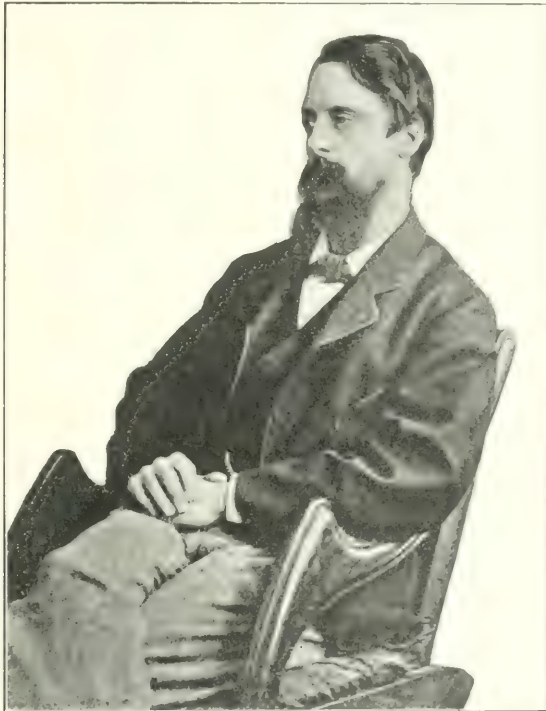


FIG. 35.—Lord Frederick Cavendish. (From a photograph by F. Steward & Co., Buxton, England.)

committed in Ireland, and in England several attempts were made to wreck buildings and docks with dynamite. The unrest was so greatly increased by the Orange riots in Northern Ireland, and the conflicts between the Orangemen and the Nationalists whenever they came together, that the government was forced to suppress the meetings of both parties. In response to Gladstone's appeal to the pope to use his influence with the Irish people, Leo XIII. forbade the clergy to take part in political agitation, particularly in meetings called to support the

cause of Parnell. But like the German Centrists in 1887 and the French Royalists in 1892, the Nationalist party declared that it would take its religion, but not its politics, from Rome; that the pope was the head of the Catholic Church, but Parnell the head of the Irish nation, and him they would follow till Ireland's independence was secured.

While thus the Irish question was attracting the attention of all to the condition and acts of the Irish people, the government was concentrating all its energies on a great scheme of electoral reform. This measure, the first since that of 1867, was introduced on February 28, 1884, in redemption of a pledge, long since made by the Liberal party, that it would extend the franchise, and grant the counties the same voting privileges that were allowed the boroughs. Furthermore, as Gladstone put it, the party wished to strengthen the state. "I take my stand," he said, "on the broad principle that the enfranchisement of capable citizens, be they few or be they many—and if they be many, so much the better—gives an addition of strength to the state." The main features of the bill were simple; the government did not effect any radical reform in principle, but merely extended the ten-pound franchise of 1832, and the household and lodger franchises of 1867, to the counties, thereby giving both county and borough the same electoral rights. It created also a new service franchise, which conferred a vote upon persons who, under certain conditions, occupied premises without being either the owners or the tenants of them. The opposition of the Conservatives to these measures took the form of an unwillingness to proceed with them until the scheme of redistribution, which Gladstone had promised for a later date, had been made known. On the side of the Liberals, the most effective speech was that of Chamberlain, who championed the cause of the agricultural laborer against the landlords, and in words of great force declared that the English laborer and the Irish farmer had a right to be heard. The Lords threw out the measure until the redistribution bill should have been presented, and by so doing called down upon themselves the wrath of the country. But the deadlock did not last long. In the autumn Gladstone and Lord Salisbury came to an agreement; and a measure having been drafted rearranging the electoral districts, the franchise bill became a law. By this act about 2,000,000 voters, largely agricultural and mining laborers, were added to the electorate. By the redistribution bill, which was passed the next year, towns and districts with fewer than 15,000 inhabitants were included in the county electoral districts; those with from 15,000 to 50,000 population got one representative; those with from 50,000 to 165,000 two, and so on. London got 37 representatives. Altogether England obtained 18 additional members,

Scotland 12, while the representation of Ireland and Wales remained unchanged.

Able though it was in the main to cope with the internal affairs of the realm, in its foreign relations the Gladstone government was not so successful, and in consequence of its vacillating policy suffered a distinct loss of prestige both in England and elsewhere. In fact Gladstone had no definite foreign policy, and under these circumstances it was unfortunate that his foreign minister, Lord Granville (Fig. 36), should have been



FIG. 36 Lord Granville.

confronted with several problems intricate and difficult of solution at best, and rendered more serious by the dilatory and aimless practices of the British Foreign Office. Though the Gladstone government had sent troops to Egypt, and had put down the native rising under Arabi Pasha, it failed to act with equal speed and decisiveness when the Sudan rose under the Mahdi. Two armies, one under Hicks Pasha, the other under Baker Pasha, were slaughtered; and the government, at its wit's end, sent Gordon to Khartum to arrange for the withdrawal of the Egyptian garrisons there. When this project proved hopeless, and Gordon was surrounded, the Gladstone government in all probability would have left him to his fate, had not public opinion shamed it to action. But Gordon was slain before help could reach him. In Afghanistan, England showed but little spirit in checking Russia's advance on Penjdeh; while in Africa

the Foreign Office was clearly outwitted by Bismarck, who succeeded in establishing German colonies in Namaqua and Damaraland, Kamerun, Togoland, and German East Africa almost before the British knew what he was about.

In consequence of these failures, the government fell into discredit with the Conservative element, as it had already fallen into disfavor with the Irish because of its policy of coercion. When, therefore, Childers, chancellor of the exchequer, proposed to increase the duties on beer and spirits, the government most unexpectedly found itself defeated, as it were accidentally, by a majority of twelve. Great was the excitement and joy of the Conservatives over the unexpected victory. Gladstone resigned June 9, 1885, and was succeeded by Lord Salisbury, who had gone with Disraeli to the congress of Berlin, and since the latter's death had been the leader of the opposition. He dropped the policy of coercion for Ireland and effected the passage of Lord Ashbourne's act, which greatly facilitated the purchase of their lands by the Irish tenants, £5,000,000 being advanced by the government. When the next general election was held in November, 1885, the Home Rulers ordered Irish electors to vote for the Conservative candidates; but the newly created county electors sent up a Liberal majority, and the Conservatives were defeated. The new membership was 335 Liberals, 249 Conservatives, and 86 Home Rulers. Thus the balance of power lay in the hands of the Irish members, whose large number made it evident that if the Liberals would command a majority, they must advocate an Irish policy favorable to the Home Rulers. When, therefore, in January, 1886, Gladstone returned to power, it was evident that a new period in the history of the relations between England and Ireland was about to begin.

In 1866 Sweden had entered the ranks of the constitutional states. By the *Riksdagordning* of that year provision was made for a diet consisting of two houses, one aristocratic, and made up of representatives chosen by the provincial and urban councils, in the proportion of one member to every 30,000 inhabitants; the other popular, and chosen by those of the people who possessed the required property qualifications. In consequence of this limitation upon the franchise, fewer than one-fifteenth of the people actually voted. On September 18, 1872, after the death of his brother Charles XV., Oscar II. (Fig. 37) came to the throne and at once inaugurated a new policy by withdrawing from the former friendly relations with France, and showing himself desirous of an understanding with Germany. This change, which first appeared on

the occasion of the king's visit to Berlin in 1875, was confirmed by the marriage, in 1881, of the Swedish crown prince with the Emperor William's granddaughter, Victoria of Baden.

But during the decade following the coronation of Oscar II., Sweden was concerned chiefly with her own internal affairs. The main political issues were such as arose between the aristocratic party which found its strength in the cities, and the democratic party which was recruited



FIG. 37.—Oscar II.

largely from the country districts. Of all the issues, the leading one was the reform of the army, which continued to trouble the chambers for many years. From the time of Charles XI. the army had remained almost unchanged, and still retained some of the features of the days of Gustavus Adolphus. It was composed of three parts: the regular troops paid by the crown; the cantonal militia living at home and supported by the produce of their lands; and a reserve force, regularly

drafted, and occasionally called out for manoeuvres in times of peace. The defects of this system had, however, become evident after 1870, when the rest of Europe was beginning to reorganize its armies, and projects were set on foot looking to its reorganization. But inasmuch as military changes were closely bound up with financial questions because it seemed to be impossible to improve the army without increasing taxes, and inasmuch as the Agrarian party strongly opposed any proposal involving expense, a deadlock ensued. For several years this state of affairs continued, but finally in 1873 a compromise was arranged between the supporters of the military reforms, who controlled the upper chamber, and the Agrarians, who were in the majority in the lower House, whereby the Agrarians recognized the need of military reform and agreed to allow the cantonal militia to be abolished. But when the question of an augmentation of the army was broached, the lower House again opposed every measure that would involve an increase in expenditures. From 1873 to 1885 minister after minister attempted to find a solution for this difficult problem, but failed. Even Count Posse, the head of the Agrarians, whom the king charged to form a cabinet in 1882, was unable to make harmonious the conflicting interests, and retired the next year. He was succeeded by Thyselius, the first peasant to hold high office in Sweden, who in his turn gave way to Themptander in 1885. By this minister a partial agreement was reached, according to which certain taxes were to be reduced, and the reserve was to be rendered more efficient; but even this settlement of 1885 was generally recognized as incomplete and unsatisfactory.

But during the years when the military and financial questions were absorbing the chief attention of the Riksdag, other matters were assuming prominence, which were more intimately connected with the economic development of Sweden. Most prominent of these was the tariff question, which began to assume in Sweden, as in Germany, especial prominence after 1879. Until this time the Agrarian party had been in the majority in the lower House of the Swedish diet, a party interested mainly in agriculture and therefore determined to maintain for Sweden a protective rather than a free-trade policy. But with the growth of industry and manufacturing, a new democratic party appeared, which occupied the centre in the lower House, and which believed that free trade was necessary for the promotion of the commercial interests of Sweden. From this time forward the debates in the Riksdag concerned these two questions chiefly. The new party proved to be more radical in all particulars than had the Agrarians, and finding that its strength lay mainly in the cities, it strove constantly to gain control of the leading municipalities.

In 1884 it succeeded in winning Stockholm, and during the ensuing years this social democracy made rapid strides, finding its chief centres of activity in Stockholm, Göteborg, and Malmö. Even the Agrarian party began to feel the influence of the new industrial life, and broke into two parts: the old Agrarians, like the German Agrarians, wishing to retain the duty on grain; the new Agrarians favoring free trade.

While Sweden was thus working out her economic policy, Norway, which on the basis of the constitution of 1814 had become a strongly democratic country, was not only rejecting all proposals looking to the annexation of Norway to Sweden, but, through the speeches of its Radical representatives, was raising a cry for the dissolution of the union. Ever



FIG. 38. Björnson.

since 1872 a controversy had been carried on between the Storting and the government over the question as to whether the members of the Council of State should be compelled to attend the meetings of the Chamber. According to the Norwegian constitution, the king had only a suspensive veto in legislative matters; and the Radicals claimed that if a measure passed the chambers three times, as had happened in this case (1872, 1877, 1880), it became a law despite the king's veto. But the king claimed that what was true of legislative matters was not true in constitutional questions; and that in the latter cases he had an absolute rather than a suspensive veto. In 1882, on the eve of the elections, Björnson (Fig. 38), leader of the Radicals, said, "If any one, even were

he a minister, should say that royalty cannot do without the veto, we should answer most emphatically that in such a case the Norwegian people would have to give up royalty." The issue of the elections can be nothing else than the veto or royalty." These elections resulted overwhelmingly in favor of the Radicals, who returned 83 representatives to 31 of the Conservatives. Profiting by their majority the Radicals in 1883, on the instigation of Sverdrup, president of the Storting, raised in the supreme court a charge of high treason against State Councillor Selmer and his colleagues on account of their non-attendance. After a tedious process, Selmer and his associates were convicted, but King Oscar, though he accepted the resignation of his councillors, and was thus left without a council, declined to ratify the sentence. The Storting continued the attack, and took a stand which demanded that the king either fight or submit. But Oscar, with the insight of a statesman, realizing that in Sweden, as in Belgium and Denmark, the nation was outgrowing its written constitution and was justified in demanding its revision, resolved to avoid further conflict by dealing fairly with the Norwegian legislature. A compromise was reached in 1884 whereby it was agreed that the constitution should be so amended in the interest of the demands of the Storting as to require the presence of the ministers at its meetings, and making ex-ministers eligible to seats in that body. The question of the veto was not touched upon. When the Storting demanded further that their president, Sverdrup, be placed at the head of the new ministry, the king yielded, and in so doing rendered practically complete the victory of the Radicals. The result of these concessions was that a constitutional revolution was effected in Norway and Sweden, inasmuch as the principle was definitely established that the ministry was not responsible to the king, but must be in political accord with the majority in the Storting. Thus it was that Norway entered on a parliamentary régime.

In Spain, the abdication of Queen Isabella, after a long reign, had been followed by a series of disordered efforts to establish a firm government, either republican or monarchical. With the withdrawal of the queen, Prim and Serrano, who were the practical dictators of the Spanish policy, had organized a provisional government, and determined on the principles which should govern the drafting of a new constitution. This constitution, drawn up in 1869 by a constituent Cortes chosen under universal suffrage by the people of Spain, was a very democratic document. It provided for a legislative Cortes, made up of two Houses, one popular, chosen by the whole people, the other conservative, chosen by specified groups of electors; also, for a monarchical form of government;

and most striking of all, for liberty of worship. But the nation was divided when it came to the choice of a king. The determination of Prim and the progressist party to seek for a king outside of Spain displeased the unionist faction among the Democrats, who wished the selection of a Spaniard; certain features of the constitution, such as the concession of religious liberty and the adoption of civil marriage, and also the hatred which the Constitutionalists displayed for the Clerical and Ultramontane parties, embittered the ecclesiastics and their followers; while the rejection of Don Carlos (Fig. 39), who wished to ascend the throne of Spain as Charles VII. (his uncle and grandfather having claimed the throne as Charles V. and Charles VI. respectively),



FIG. 39.—Don Carlos.

alienated his absolutist supporters, chief among whom were the Basques. This divided state of the country augured only ill for any government that might be established.

Great were the difficulties encountered by the regency in the selection of a king. The throne was offered first to the son of the King of Portugal, who refused it, afterward to the Duke of Genoa, nephew of Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, who also refused it, and in the third place to the Prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, whose candidacy, as manipulated by Bismarck, was destined to bring on the war between Germany and France. On the final refusal of Prince Leopold, the throne was

offered to the Duke Amadeus of Aosta, second son of Victor Emmanuel, and on his expressing his willingness to accept the burden of kingship, he was elected by the Cortes on November 16, 1870. The vote of 191 to 38, by means of which the Cortes expressed its will, seemed to convey a promise that the new king would succeed in uniting parties and bringing harmony to the divided country. It was significant, however, that 62 members cast their vote for a republic, and that 55 refrained from voting altogether; in other words, that although Amadeus was elected by a large majority over all other monarchical candidates, he was opposed by a group of parties, whose votes collectively were nearly as many as those of his own supporters. This was ominous for a peaceful and successful reign, for at the beginning King Amadeus was thus openly attacked by three parties: the Republicans, the Unionists who wished a



FIG. 40.—Serrano.

native king, and the Carlists, who wished Don Carlos. This opposition took a more violent form a little later. On the day that Amadeus embarked at Genoa for Spain, General Prim was shot down in the streets of Madrid, and died on the very day when the new king left his ship at Carthagena to begin his reign as King of Spain.

How difficult his position was to be both socially and politically, and how little in sympathy with him and his purposes were the majority of the people of Spain, the young king was soon to find out. He was dubbed the "Italian" and the "stranger," and both he and his wife were treated by the better classes in Madrid with a want of courtesy and consideration which can be explained only by the violent prejudices cherished by the Spaniards for all strangers. On the political side Amadeus was no more successful. Determined to rule strictly as a

parliamentary king, he first summoned to the ministry Serrano (Fig. 40), who selected his colleagues, Sagasta, Zorilla, and others, from the Progressist and Democratic parties. Unfortunately, this ministry was not able to unite on any common policy, or to agree harmoniously on any definite course of action. Sagasta, as the head of the Progressists, drew away from Zorilla, who led the Radical wing; and matters were made worse by differences of opinion which arose between Sagasta and Serrano. In July, 1871, King Amadeus, having dismissed Serrano, called on Zorilla to form a cabinet, and the latter, having received from Sagasta a promise of support in the Chamber, undertook the task. For a brief space matters went smoothly; but in the autumn of 1871, when the question of the presidency of the Chamber came up for discussion and Sagasta succeeded in placing in the chair one of his own followers whom Zorilla had opposed, the latter resigned. A Progressist, Admiral Malcampo, was now appointed by the king to form a coalition cabinet; but in his turn he failed, and in December Sagasta himself became head of the ministry. However, shortly after the summoning of the Cortes, he was compelled to resign, and the king dissolved Parliament. In reply, the country sent up a firm Progressist majority of nearly 100.

The opposition, thus unable to prevail in the Cortes, began to organize itself outside; and the Carlists, aroused by the Progressist victory, rose in insurrection against the government. On April 21 the flag of Charles VII. was raised in Navarre and the Basque provinces; and shortly afterward, Don Carlos in person took command of his followers. But the insurrection came to nothing; in May, Don Carlos was compelled to flee across the frontier, and with the convention of Amoreireta, which was concluded between Serrano and the Carlists on May 25, this uprising came to an end. But the parliamentary instability continued. First Serrano attempted to form a cabinet, then Zorilla in June, but neither of them succeeded in effecting a reconciliation of the hostile parties. The disturbances in the country increased. The Carlists, led by Don Carlos and his brother Don Alfonso, again took arms; a group of the Republicans, having revolted against the leadership of Castelar, allied themselves with the Socialists and were responsible, it is supposed, for the attempt which was made on July 18, 1872, to assassinate the king; and in the new elections of 1872 the victory of the Radicals made increasingly insecure the position of the king. In the autumn Amadeus made a progress through the provinces which disclosed to him the unpopularity of the foreign rule, and he determined to abdicate. He was persuaded to remain, but almost immediately further evidence showed him the hopelessness of his position.

When the Zorilla ministry appointed, as governor-general of Andalusia, General Hidalgo, who was exceedingly unpopular with the artillery officers, the latter demanded the recall of the order. When this demand was refused, nearly 700 officers resigned; and later, when the order was recalled, they refused to reconsider their action. This revolt of the army was convincing. On February 11, 1873, Amadeus abdicated the throne and returned to Italy. The Cortes, on the next day, accepted the king's resignation, and then, by a majority of 258 to 32, proclaimed the republic, with Figueras as president, Pi y Margall minister of the interior, and Castelar minister of foreign affairs.

But the new government was not popular either at home or abroad. No foreign power, except the United States, was willing to give it diplomatic recognition. Within Spain the Carlists, under Don Carlos and Don Alfonso, pressed forward from the north; and the "Irreconcilables" (*intransigentes*) raised the red flag in the south, and established the commune in Malaga, Seville, and Carthagena. In the Cortes a conflict arose between the Radicals, already in the majority in the chambers, who wished a centralized republic, and the old Republicans, who wished that a constituent Cortes should be summoned to draft a new constitution which both should provide for a federal republic like that of the United States, and should bestow upon the provinces such powers of self-government as would transform them into practically independent states. In the struggle that followed, the old Republicans won, and in consequence a constituent Cortes was summoned which on June 8, 1873, proclaimed a federal Republic. In the face of the opposition of the Irreconcilable republicans, who desired a social revolution, it was found necessary to invest Castelar (Fig. 41), the new President, with such unlimited power as to constitute him the dictator of Spain. Already were the Irreconcilables supreme in Seville, Malaga, Valencia, Cordova, Cadiz, and other cities; at Alcoy they murdered and burned, and at Carthagena they seized the port and levied contributions on the neighboring cities. One after another of these places was taken by the government troops, except Carthagena, which held out for four months under General Contreras and the deputy Galvez, who, with a committee of public safety, controlled the thirteen forts of the city. But bombarded by General Lopez Dominguez from the land side and by General Martinos Campos from the sea, it finally surrendered on January 12, 1874. On September 18 the Cortes adjourned until January 2, in order to give Castelar a free hand to check the insurrection and to bring order once more out of chaos. The President suspended throughout Spain the constitutional guarantees, forbade every Spaniard to leave his

residence without permission, and exercised a rigid censorship of the press.

But Castelar, notwithstanding the vigor with which he had fulfilled the duties of his dictatorship, alienated many of his old friends by his assumption of absolute authority. Moreover, he hurt the pride of Spain; for when the United States complained of the seizure by the governor of Cuba of an American ship, the *Virginus*, which was carrying supplies to the Cuban insurgents, and of the execution of fifty-seven of the filibusters, he granted her demands. Furthermore he did nothing to check the Carlist insurrection. For these reasons he

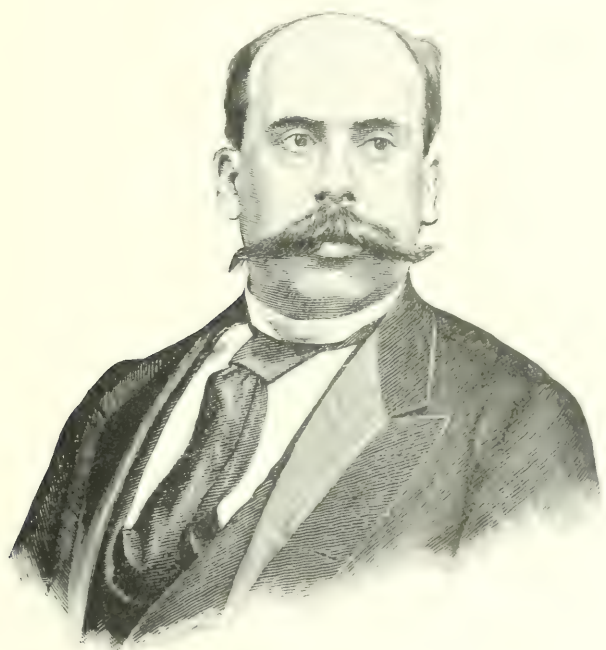


FIG. 41.—Castelar.

was refused the customary vote of thanks by the Cortes on its reassembling January 2, 1874, and immediately resigned. Thereupon the revolutionary majority strove to seize the power for themselves, when the military power intervened. General Pavia, governor of Madrid and an old friend of Prim, whose aid Castelar had already refused, entered the Chamber on January 3 and dispersed the deputies. This coup d'état was followed by a suspension of the constitutional guarantees, the breaking-up of political clubs, and the suppression of both the Carlist and Irre-

concilable newspapers. Serrano assumed the title of President of the executive power of the republic and at once employed the military forces of Spain to destroy the Radical and Carlist insurrections. After the fall of Carthagena on January 14, 1874, Serrano took up the longer and more bitter struggle with the Carlists, who maintained themselves obstinately, drawing largely on the aid furnished by outside sympathizers and the hope of eventual recognition by the European powers. The campaign of 1874 opened with the attempt of the government to relieve Bilbao, which the Carlist leader, Dorregaray, an old officer of the regular



FIG. 42.—General Martinos Campos.

army, had besieged. The government's general, Moriones, was, however, checked in the attempt, and on March 3 Serrano himself took the command. Alone he was equally unsuccessful; but finally, with the aid of General Concha, he compelled the Carlists to raise the siege, and on May 2 entered the city. Immediately Concha pursued the retreating Carlists into the mountains of Navarre, but advancing with insufficient force, was defeated and killed before the Carlist capital, Estella, on June 27. The treatment of prisoners by the Carlists was barbarous. Hundreds were

shot in cold blood, among them a German war-correspondent, one Schmidt, a former Prussian captain. Bismarck had already aroused the wrath of the Carlists by his recognition of the Serrano government, and acts of retaliation followed. Finally a German vessel was fired upon by the Carlist artillerymen. Germany at once despatched to the Basque coast two gunboats, which bombarded the Carlist batteries, and at the same time sent a message to the French government protesting against the aid furnished by the French Legitimists.

But before the Carlist war was ended a change had been effected in the Spanish government. There was already in existence an Alfonsist or Unionist party which upheld the cause of the young Alfonso, titular King of Spain since the abdication of Queen Isabella in 1868. Many of the generals, having grown weary of the military dictatorship of Serrano, now rallied to the cause of the rightful heir, who came of age November 28, 1874. On December 29 General Martinos Campos (Fig. 42), in a *pronunciamento* read before the troops at Murviedro, proclaimed Alfonso king under the title Alfonso XII. Other military leaders, Jovellar, Primo de Rivera, announced their allegiance to the new king, and Serrano, recognizing the gravity of the situation, and unwilling to plunge Spain further into civil discord, gave up the control of the government. On January 14, 1875, the young king made his entry into Madrid. Canovas del Castillo took the presidency of the council, Primo de Rivera became minister of war, and Martinos Campos the chief of the army of the north. The desire of the Spaniards for peace was evidenced by the enthusiasm which greeted the new king on his accession to power. Thus after eight years of continued disorder and civil strife, Spain at last approached a period of comparative rest in political affairs.

Alfonso XII. (Fig. 43), with an energy and discretion above his years, at once began to re-establish the monarchy and to bring constitutional order to the kingdom. On reaching his majority he had promised to reign as a constitutional king, to be a good Spaniard, a good Catholic, as had been all his predecessors, and, in accord with the spirit of the age, a good Liberal. For seven years he had lived in exile, and during this time had received an excellent education at schools in France, Switzerland, Austria, and England. His intentions were of the best and he viewed with great seriousness the needs of Spain. Entering on his career as constitutional sovereign, he displayed moderation as the upholder of law and liberty, and a regard for constitutional forms unusual in a Spaniard. He was supported by a combination of the Moderates and Unionists under the leadership of Canovas, and was recognized by Pius

IX., who had heretofore upheld the Carlist cause. By this reconciliation with the monarchy the pope did not gain the restoration of the concordat of 1851, the concession he had hoped for, but many privileges were accorded by the state to the church, and for these he had cause to be grateful. The war against the Carlists was now prosecuted with vigor. The royal army in January and February pushed forward to Pampeluna, but, when it failed to advance further, Alfonso decided to resort to diplomacy and negotiation. Cabrera, a leader old in the Carlist cause, gave in his allegiance to the king in March, and signed a convention which



FIG. 43.—Alfonso XII.

offered to the Basques a general amnesty and the preservation of their *fueros* or special privileges. Thus began the disintegration of the Carlist party. But though many Basques and Navarese declared themselves ready to take the oath, the main body of the Carlists had to be reduced by force. From July, 1875, to March, 1876, the royal forces made attack after attack on the Carlist strongholds, and finally succeeded in driving Don Carlos over the frontier into France. The war was fierce and enormously costly; but when on March 17, 1876, Alfonso, returning from the seat of war, entered Madrid, he had the satisfaction of knowing that civil war was over. Thus with the Carlist opposition destroyed

and with popular sentiment loyal to a native Spanish sovereign, he entered upon his reign with every promise of success.

The most difficult and important question that confronted the king's advisers was the drafting of a constitution that should be more moderate than the code of 1845, and yet not so liberal as that of 1869. After a year's debate in the constitutional Cortes, the fundamental law was promulgated, providing for an inviolable monarchy, a responsible ministry, which, in practice, generally followed the superior will of the sovereign, and a bicameral legislature, that is, a Senate and a House of Deputies. The members of the latter body were to be elected under a complicated



FIG. 44. Cánovas del Castillo.

franchise, wherein the electoral privilege was shared by certain public bodies, such as universities and provincial chambers, and the voting qualifications of individuals were restricted both by financial and social considerations. This abolition of the universal suffrage that had been established by the law of 1870 woke among the Liberals great wrath, which increased when they discovered that the constitution had omitted other provisions which had been in the republican constitution, such as trial by jury, civil marriage, freedom of the press, and the like. These omissions furnished the programme for the Liberal party for more than a decade. But Cánovas (Fig. 44) proved a faithful minister and was able

during these years to calm many political animosities, and to avoid the burning political questions that resulted from the many and the startling changes that the government had undergone. Constitutional monarchy was still further strengthened by the personality of the king, whose tact and courteous address had great weight with the people. Alfonso journeyed through the provinces, and on one occasion, in 1885, showed his courage by stealing away from his ministers, who threatened him with their retirement, in order to hurry to the cholera-stricken sufferers in Aranguez. His first marriage, which was opposed bitterly not only by the members of his family and his cabinet, but also by the Conservatives and Clericals of Spain, was a genuine love-match with his cousin Mercedes, daughter of the Duke of Montpensier. But Mercedes died in June, 1878, living only five months after her marriage. The king's sorrow bound the Spanish all the more closely to him, but their very fondness for him made them only the more desirous that he should leave an heir to his throne and dynasty. Alfonso's second wife, the Archduchess Marie Christina, to whom he was married in 1879, bore him two daughters, and not till after his own death, a son. The king, always consumptive, died in November, 1885, leaving the queen to conduct the regency during the minority of the son, Alfonso XIII., an office she was to fill with wisdom, judgment, and unselfish devotion.

The Cuban war, which had dragged on a long course, was finally terminated February, 1878, by bribes and promises quite as much as by force of arms. The struggle had already cost Spain nearly 100,000 men and \$200,000,000, and was rapidly exhausting her vital energy. But broken promises were to reap even a heavier vengeance. General Martinez Campos had won over the Cubans by an elaborate scheme of administrative and financial reform, including the abolition of slavery; but, as these reforms were highly disapproved of by the Conservatives, Canovas withdrew from the ministry in 1879 and Campos took his place. But even Campos, the Pacificator, as he came to be called, was unable to persuade the reactionary party to keep faith with the Cubans. After months of bitter debate and personal attacks, in which the Cuban cause was lost to view in a cloud of recriminations, Campos made way for Canovas, who, knowing the feeling in the country, refused to consider the projects for Cuban autonomy. In the end the promises made to the Cubans were all broken, and Cuba was sacrificed to the ignorance and prejudices of a high-spirited but narrow-minded people. It was bad enough that the Spanish Conservatives could see no middle ground between independence and subjection; but it was worse still that they should throw the costs of the war upon the Cubans and so increase the

burdens of a people already overtaxed. A few matters of reform were attended to, and slavery was finally abolished in 1887; but the good effects of this act were neutralized by the incompetence of those who administered the island, by the peculations of minor officials, and by the cruelty and the injustice of those who exercised military authority and suppressed revolts. While Cuba was thus suffering from this seventeenth century colonial policy, Spain too was feeling the effect. In failing to uphold the compromise of Campos, Canovas had compelled all the parties of the opposition to unite under Sagasta, and as a result he was defeated in 1881 on a financial question and driven from power. But the political pendulum continued to swing. In 1884 Canovas returned only to be succeeded by Sagasta after the death of the king. But such frequent changes of ministry in no way marked steps in constitutional progress, for they were due, not to the exigencies of parliamentary procedure, but to personal and party jealousy and the wish of the king. The programmes and budgets enunciated at the beginning of the ministries were rarely carried out, and the promises made during these years to Spain were almost as rarely fulfilled as those made to Cuba, administrative corruption and improvident financiering characterizing the one as well as the other.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EASTERN QUESTION.

THE wars of 1866 and 1870 had changed the political aspect of Europe by preparing the way for the erection upon the ruins of the old Holy Roman Empire and the Germanic Confederation of a mighty military state, firmly united under the leadership of Prussia. The scattered German principalities, which for two centuries had been weak because of their political disunity, suddenly became united into one great federal state founded on a powerful national base. The inevitable result was the overturning of the entire European equilibrium and the shifting of the centre of political gravity from France to Germany. Inevitably in the minds of European statesmen arose the query as to what this powerful state with its wonderful fighting machine would do with its newly won victory: whether it would stand as the arbiter of peace ready to fight to maintain it, or whether it would itself become the aggressor and aim at further conquest.

The foreign policy of the new German empire was indicated beforehand by the attitude which Bismarck assumed in the treaty of Prague toward Austria and in the treaty of Frankfort toward France. In the former instance, he had treated Prussia's old-time rival in the Germanic Confederation with unexpected mildness, and had exacted from Austria no territory whatever, hoping that by arousing in the defeated enemy neither hatred for wounds inflicted nor a desire for revenge for honor touched, he would be able to bind her in a closer friendship with Germany afterward. But no such desire animated his treatment of France. The terms were harsh, and the loss of Alsace and Lorraine not only hurt the French pride, but in exposing Paris to attack, undid the work of Richelieu and Louis XIV., whose aim had been to create a strong protecting frontier in the northeast. Friendship for Austria and watchful distrust of France characterized the German policy during the early years in the history of the empire. Yet essentially this policy was peaceful. Emperor William had opened the first Parliament on March 21, 1871, with the words: "The new Germany is a reliable guaranty for the European peace, because she is strong enough and self-respecting enough to regard the ordering of her affairs as her own exclusive, and at the

same time her abundantly sufficient heritage." That the peace so greatly desired seemed to be rendered insecure during the first twenty years after the battle of Sedan was due in large part to the terms of the treaty of Frankfort, and to the fact that Bismarck had wounded the pride and threatened the security of France.

To guard against coalitions, the dread of which haunted the chancellor for a decade, Bismarck sought to enter into more friendly relations with Austria and Russia. By this means he hoped to destroy the possibility of a revival of the plan of 1870, in other words to prevent the two defeated countries from uniting for the purpose of taking revenge upon Germany. Between Russia and Germany the relations were already most friendly. Since 1863, when Bismarck, in the face of the opposition of Europe, had taken sides with Russia against the Poles, the friendship had continued unbroken. Later, during the wars of 1866 and 1870, Alexander II. not only remained neutral, but used his influence with Austria to induce her to remain peaceful; and in return for this evidence of friendship on the part of Russia, Bismarck obtained for her in the conference at London the practical abrogation of the Black Sea convention of 1856. Germany's friendship for Russia was somewhat chilled by Alexander's friendship for England, consequent upon the marriage of his daughter to the Duke of Edinburgh in 1874, and also by the czar's support of the Count of Paris in France and Alfonso in Spain, when Bismarck, with an eye to the supremacy of Germany in Europe, favored, in each instance, the republican cause. But in spite of these differences of opinion, the understanding with Russia, which until 1884 was only an *entente*, not an alliance, constituted until 1890 the foundation of Bismarck's foreign policy.

With Austria, as we have already seen (pp. 61-62), friendly relations were finally established, but only after much negotiating, and the meeting of the emperors, William and Francis Joseph, and their ministers, Bismarck and Beust, at Ischl and Salzburg in 1871. No treaty was signed, but an understanding was reached, which made easier the drafting of a formal treaty eight years later. But to make this understanding tripartite by bringing Russia and Austria together, became now Bismarck's ambition; an end that was not easily attained, because of the coolness which had arisen between these powers in consequence of Austria's policy in the Crimean war and of Russia's threat to restrain Austria during the Franco-Prussian war. However, as early as the middle of the year 1871, Count Beust, in a speech to the delegations, had commented favorably on the renewal of friendly intercourse with Russia; and Alexander, on his side, had listened favorably to Bismarck's

suggestion, having been impressed particularly with the German chancellor's argument that it were better the three emperors should stand side by side in a kind of Holy Alliance against the new social revolution, than that through hostility for each other they should present a divided front to their enemies. It was a triumph for Bismarck when on September 11, 1872, the czar and the Emperor of Austria, with their leading ministers, met at Berlin as guests of the German emperor, and there agreed on a common policy. Notes were exchanged bearing on three points: first, the emperors promised to uphold the territorial arrangements as established by the treaties of Prague and Frankfort, an agreement which was a moral, if not a formal, safeguard against a French revenge policy; secondly, to unite in an attempt to solve the Eastern question, which for sixteen years had been a perplexing problem for the statesmen of Europe; and thirdly, to take measures which should meet the social and industrial difficulties of the day—on one hand, to ameliorate the condition of the working classes by beneficial legislation; and on the other, by repressive measures to destroy the new revolution, socialism. This peace policy was further strengthened the next year by visits of Emperor William to St. Petersburg and Vienna, and by meetings between the monarchs at Ischl, Salzburg, and elsewhere in 1874, 1875, and 1876.

Yet, notwithstanding the guaranty of peace provided by this understanding of the three emperors, rumors of war arose from time to time during the following years because of the rough-and-ready methods which Bismarck frequently employed to show his dislike of anything infringing on Germany's dignity. The first alarm was given in 1873, when General Contreras, the leader of the rebels against the Spanish government at Carthagená, exercised a local dictatorship there, and levied, like a pirate, contributions on the neighboring seaports of Almería and Alicante. The German ironclad, *Friedrich Karl*, appearing in the vicinity, captured the war-ship *Vigilante*, which the insurgents had seized and were employing for their own purposes, an interference which for the moment seemed to indicate that Germany was planning to intervene in the civil war in Spain. But Bismarck disavowed the action and recalled Werner, the captain of the German vessel. The next year, Bismarck, taking offence at the pastoral letters of certain Belgian archbishops, which, like the corresponding letters of their colleagues in France, denounced Germany, her emperor and her chancellor, largely because of the *Kulturkampf*, addressed a rather haughty letter warning Belgium to be careful. In March, after a decision had been reached regarding the form of government for France and the military

law was under consideration, he asked Belgium further what measures she had taken to guarantee that her neutrality would be respected. This question was asked apparently because Frenchmen, like Thiers and the Duc de Broglie, were reported to have declared that France would be willing to take Belgium instead of Alsace and Lorraine; and the German military staff would not accept any other reason for an increase in the French army than that the French government was planning to annex Belgium or to undertake a war of revenge against Germany. So great was the uneasiness of the Germans that Hohenlohe, German ambassador at Paris, announced to the French minister Decazes that his government considered these military additions a menace to European peace, and that France ought to give Germany some assurance to the contrary. The situation for a few months seemed serious (see pp. 32, 33); but through the personal intervention (as is commonly believed) of Queen Victoria and the czar, the affair ended without further trouble on either side. In the same year the attention of Europe was turned from the west to the east, whence rumors were coming of troubles in the Ottoman empire.

By the treaty of Paris of 1856, Turkey had been admitted into the European concert; but since that time the *Hat-Humayum* of February 18, of the same year, upon which the powers had based their action, remained, like its predecessor, the *Hat-Sherif* of 1839, a dead letter. The confirmation of the privileges of the Christians, as well as the promised equality between Christians and Mussulmans, were not realized in any particular. The insurrection of the Herzegovinians in 1862 and of the Cretans in 1866 showed that the Christians, aware of their numerical superiority, and despairing of fair treatment at the hands of the Turk, were determined to gain by force what the powers were unable to obtain for them by the only means at their disposal—protests and warnings. Only to the Bulgarians did Sultan Abdul Aziz (Fig. 45) grant concessions, when in 1872, through the intervention of Ignatieff, Russia's ambassador at the Porte, he confirmed their right, despite the opposition of the Patriarch of Constantinople, to choose an exarch and to possess an independent Bulgarian church. But this was an end of his reforms. Abandoning even an attempt at government, the sultan changed his ministers and other dignitaries every few months, gave himself up to the pleasures of his harem, and allowed the governors of the provinces and other local officials to oppress the subject peoples at their will. The financial affairs of the state soon became hopelessly confused. Authorized by the treaty of Paris to incur debt, the Turkish government, at the command of the sultan, began a policy of indiscriminate borrowing; and the money, estimated in 1875 at five milliards of francs, was squandered on favorites

and palaces. The treasury was always empty ; and inasmuch as the total revenue only served to pay the interest on the debt and to satisfy the enormous demands of the sultan, the pay of the army and of officials fell into arrears. The state became bankrupt, the Porte declaring itself unable to pay its creditors more than 50 per cent. of the interest due, and, for the rest, offering 5 per cent. obligations.

The Turkish tax-collectors now became extraordinarily oppressive in their demands ; and goaded to desperation, the Herzegovinians on July 9, 1875, made a premeditated attack upon these officials. Soon the whole



FIG. 45.—Sultan Abdul Aziz.

Slavic population was in an uproar. On the 29th appeared a manifesto declaring that every inch of the land was wet with the blood and tears of their ancestors, and that they were resolved to fight for their liberty or to die in the attempt. Soon Montenegrin and Servian volunteers flocked to the aid of their brethren. While the old men, women, and children fled to places of safety, the warriors threw themselves into the mountain passes and ravines, and opened a guerilla war upon their oppressors. As the Turks had a wholly insufficient force in the region, only 1800 men, many of the strongholds soon fell into the hands of

the insurgents; and it began to look as if the entire Slavic peoples, stirred by a love for the common nationality, were about to succeed not only in freeing themselves of Ottoman oppression, but also in founding that great Servian empire which for years had been the dream of the Slavs below the Drave. As such a result would menace the integrity of Austria-Hungary and conflict with the policy of Russia, it became necessary for the powers to take steps to prevent the insurrection from becoming a menace to the peace of Europe. Consequently Austria, taking the initiative, did her utmost to extort from the Porte such concessions for the Christian peoples of the two frontier provinces as would allay their desire for separation from Turkey, and warrant them in laying down their arms. First on August 18, 1875, having obtained from the insurgents a statement of their grievances, Austria in the name of the three imperial powers presented this statement to the Porte. On October 20 the sultan, acting with the advice of the British government, issued an *iradé* consenting to lighten the condition of the Christians throughout the empire, and on December 12 issued a *firman* promulgating the promised reforms. But as neither Russia nor the insurgents had any confidence that the reforms would be carried out, Count Andrassy drafted a note to which Russia and Germany, France and Italy, and finally England, with reservations, gave their consent. The note, dated January 31, 1876, demanded complete religious freedom, abolition of tax-farming, the exclusive application of the direct taxes of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the benefit of these provinces, the institution of a mixed Christian and Mussulman commission to superintend the carrying-out of these reforms, and the amelioration of the economic condition of the agricultural population. On February 13 the Porte accepted the note and promised to make the reforms asked for.

But the insurgents refused to lay down their arms unless the powers should guarantee the carrying-out of the sultan's promises. They maintained that acts should accompany words, and fulfilment follow promises. Austria, however, declared that she had done all she could, and thought the further demands unnecessary; while Russia and Germany, having little confidence in the declarations of the Porte, were inclined to insist upon the employment of more vigorous measures. It began to look as if the understanding between the three powers was at an end, when an event occurred which forced them to act once more in harmony. On May 7, 1876, in consequence of a bloody fray between Greeks and Turks at Salonica, about a Bulgarian girl who was compelled to embrace Islamism, the German and French consuls were decoyed into a mosque, and there slain by the populace. At once France and Germany despatched war

ships to the scene, and succeeded in compelling the Porte to punish the culprits and the higher officials and to pay indemnities. At Bismarck's invitation, representatives of the three powers met at Berlin and drafted the Berlin memorandum, which was accepted by France and Italy, but rejected by England, because it contained a clause implying the right of the powers to intervene in Turkish affairs and compel the carrying-out of the reforms by armed force. In order to uphold the integrity of the Ottoman empire, and so maintain the treaty of Paris, Disraeli despatched a fleet to Besika Bay, thus seeming to defy the signers of the Berlin memorandum. By this act he undoubtedly aroused in the mind of the Turk a determination to resist the pressure which the other powers were endeavoring by diplomatic means to bring to bear upon him, and so made more difficult the final settlement of the matter.

Already a revolution had taken place in the Turkish capital, which certainly favored England's cause and which by some has been ascribed to the influence of the British consul, Sir Henry Elliott, who had taken the place of Ignatieff as the confidential adviser of the Porte. On May 10 some thousands of Softas (Mussulman theological students), by an imposing demonstration, enforced the deposition of the grand vizier, Mahmud Pasha, and the Sheik-ul-Islam, both of whom favored Russia, and the elevation of Mehemed Rushdi Pasha as grand vizier, with Hussein Avni Pasha as minister of war and commander-in-chief of the army. The leaders of the movement seem to have had some idea of reviving the moribund empire through adequate reforms. To this end, on the night of May 29, before the Berlin memorandum had been submitted to the Porte, they dethroned the incapable Abdul Aziz and elevated in his place as Murad V. his nephew, the son of the deceased Abdul Medjid. On June 4 the deposed monarch met with sudden death, by suicide it was said, though rumors were not infrequent afterward that he was still alive. The new sultan nominated as president of the council Midhat Pasha (Fig. 46), the head of Young Turkey, or the reform party, a man of great ambition, whose main desire was not so much to reorganize the Ottoman empire as to ward off by any means, fair or foul, European interference in Turkish affairs. With this idea in mind, Midhat began immediately to devise a new constitution; but before it could be completed, it would be necessary to effect further changes. On June 15 a Circassian officer named Hassan forced his way into the ministerial council and murdered Hussein Avni Pasha, minister of war, and Reshdi Pasha, minister of foreign affairs. Their places were taken by Abdul Kerim and Savfet Pasha. Six weeks later the revolution was finished; on August 31, Murad V., a degenerate in

mind and body, was himself deposed, and his brother, Abdul Hamid II., raised to the throne.

In the meantime new influences were at work, goading to desperation the subject peoples and leading to further revolt. For some years there had existed a revolutionary committee at Bucharest for the purpose of stirring up revolt among the Bulgarians, but it had never succeeded in moving the people to any extent. Given over to agriculture, and satisfied with the ecclesiastical concessions of the Porte, they were not inclined to become revolutionary enthusiasts; but even they had been stirred by the rising of the Herzegovinians, and were further excited by



FIG. 46.—Midhat Pasha.

the cruelties committed by Circassian settlers who had emigrated from the Caucasus to avoid becoming Russian subjects. A series of outrages at Sulmehi in November, 1875, was followed in April, 1876, by a rebellion of little moment at Strielitza in the following April. Notwithstanding the admonitions of the ambassadors that the Turkish government employ no irregular troops against the rebels, some 10,000 Bashi-Bazouks and Circassians were turned loose on Bulgaria, and atrocities followed that aroused the indignation of the world. At this time Baring, the British commissioner, wrote: "To Achmet Aga and his men belongs the distinction of having committed perhaps the most heinous crime that has stained the history of the present century."

Altogether some seventy-nine villages were destroyed, and from 12,000 to 15,000 persons, mostly women and children, murdered. In the one town of Batak it was estimated that out of a population of 7000, two-thirds of that number were slain; and over 80,000 were driven from Bulgaria into exile.

The description of these atrocities by the special correspondent of the *Daily News* roused a storm of rage in England; but before they became known, as they did but slowly, Serbia and Montenegro, mainly through Russian Pan-Slavic influence, had declared war upon Turkey. Under the leadership of their prince, Nicholas, the Montenegrins, aided by the Herzegovinians, won a series of brilliant victories during July and August, 1876, at Vucidol, Medun, Niksic, and Scutari (Skodra). Serbia was less successful. Under the Russian General Tcherniaeff, the Servians crossed their frontier, numbering, it is estimated, some 148,000 men. But they proved no match for the Turks. The commander-in-chief



FIG. 47.—Abdul Kerim.

Abdul Kerim (Fig. 47), soon drove them back into Serbia, and in a series of battles, fought from the 9th to the 27th of August, completely shattered the Servian army, and himself gained a footing on the left bank of the Morava. At this juncture Serbia appealed to the powers for aid. News of the Bulgarian atrocities had already reached England, and Gladstone had given expression to the feelings of the people in pamphlets and speeches. The Disraeli government, which had been seriously compromised by the revolution in Constantinople of August 31, and by

these Bulgarian massacres, attempted to mediate; but the Porte, elated by its successes, rejected the proffered conditions of peace, and would hear nothing of concessions to the insurgents. Midhat Pasha declared that Turkey would soon have a constitution with a central Parliament and all the paraphernalia of a liberal government, and declined to consent to any interference of the powers. The Servians, therefore, resumed hostilities, but were again badly beaten. On October 30, by storming Djunis, Abdul Kerim broke through their first line and invested Alexinatz. The valley of the Morava lay open to the conqueror; and the militia, everywhere defeated, no longer offered any serious resistance.

The czar, who had been preparing for a rupture with Turkey, deter-

mined to make use of this opportunity. Already on October 15 had he sent Ignatieff to Constantinople, with the demand for an armistice : but the renewal of the war during the latter part of October and the defeat of the Servians transformed the demand into an ultimatum. On October 31, Ignatieff declared that if in forty-eight hours an unconditional armistice of from six weeks to two months, embracing all the contestants, was not concluded, and if peremptory orders were not issued to the Ottoman troops to suspend immediately all military operations, diplomatic relations would be severed between Russia and Turkey. The Turk, terrified by this harsh order and perceiving himself unsupported—for England in this emergency was unwilling to act—at once submitted ; and on November 2 the armistice began.

But though herself unwilling to act, England was exceedingly irritated by the attitude of Alexander, and resented both Russia's intrusion single-handed into Turkish affairs and her aiding the revolting Slavs of the Turkish provinces. Yet there can be little doubt that the czar and his ministers did not wish war, for neither the finances nor the army were in a condition to support a continued struggle. Nor did Russia feel entire confidence in Austria or in her power to avoid hostilities with England. In a conversation at Livadia with the English ambassador, Lord A. Loftus, the czar said : " If Europe is inclined to be satisfied with the repeated affronts of the Porte, I cannot longer reconcile this with the honor, the dignity, and the interests of Russia. I am earnestly anxious not to dissociate myself from the European concert, but the present situation is intolerable and cannot endure ; and if Europe is not prepared to act with decision and energy, I must act alone." He furthermore pledged his word that he had no desire of acquiring Constantinople, and that if it should become necessary to occupy a part of Bulgaria, such occupation would be merely temporary. But these assurances did not satisfy the English premier, Lord Beaconsfield ; and at the lord-mayor's banquet on November 9 he made a menacing speech. " There is no land," he said, " that, thanks to the inexhaustibility of her resources, is so well prepared for war as England. In a righteous cause England is not the country that will have to inquire whether she can enter upon a second or a third campaign. In a righteous cause England will commence a fight that will not end until right is done." This warlike declaration led the czar to deliver a speech the next day to the representatives of the nobility of Moscow which sounded very much like a direct answer to Beaconsfield's challenge. He said that if he could not succeed in obtaining, with the concert of the powers, such guaranties as Russia with justice required from the Porte, he was finally resolved to

act alone. On the 13th he ordered the mobilization of six army-corps and named his brother Nicholas as the commander-in-chief of the army of the south. On the 18th a national loan of 100,000,000 roubles was decreed. About a month later Gortchakoff sounded Rumania on the question of allowing Russian troops to pass through her territory, and at about the same time made inquiries at Berlin as to whether Germany would remain neutral in case a war with Turkey should draw Russia into a war also with Austria. Bismarck did not think it necessary to commit himself on this question, for as he said afterward in his speech of 1888, Germany did not wish to make a choice between Russia and Austria. Then the czar turned to Austria, and on January 15, 1877, entered into a secret convention, according to which Austria was to remain neutral in case of war, and in return for her neutrality was to have the right to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina after the conclusion of peace. And in the meantime Gortchakoff had reminded England of the necessity of subordinating the independence and integrity of Turkey to those guaranties which the sentiment of Christendom and the common peace of Europe demanded.

But even while preparing for war, the czar consented to send a representative to a conference at Constantinople, where England proposed to make one more attempt to solve the question peacefully by diplomatic means. This conference opened on December 23, and was attended by representatives of all the chief powers, though the Turkish commissioners were not admitted. For three weeks the ambassadors sat, discussing the grievances of the insurgents and the form which the new proposals for Turkey should take. But, as in previous attempts, the Turks outwitted their opponents. For nearly three months a commission, working under the direction of Midhat Pasha, had been engaged in the preparation of a constitution. On December 19 Midhat Pasha was made grand vizier of the Ottoman empire; and on December 23, when the conference of the ambassadors was about to open, the sound of cannon was heard. To an inquiry as to what it meant, the Turkish foreign minister, Savfet Pasha, rose and said: "The salvoes of cannon announce the promulgation of the constitution which the sultan has granted to his empire. This act changes the form of government which has prevailed for six centuries and inaugurates a new era in the prosperity of the Ottoman peoples." By this act, which was the consummation of a most extraordinary course of deceitful strategy, Midhat Pasha was able to checkmate the conference in whatever it proposed to demand. No projects of the ambassadors could possibly go further in the direction of liberal reforms than did this document, for it provided for every

requirement which was to be found in any of the constitutions of the west. Whenever the powers in conference made demands or imposed conditions, the Turkish ministers had but to present their constitution, and the powers could but remain silent. On January 20, 1877, after three weeks of ineffectual deliberation, the conference broke up. The two most important of its demands, namely, that the powers control the nomination of the governors of the Christian provinces and appoint an international commission to supervise local administration, were rejected by a great council of 240 officials which was summoned by the Porte especially to consider these matters. With this act the comedy was finished. Two weeks afterward, on February 5, 1877, Abdul Hamid banished to Arabia Midhat Pasha, whom he now no longer needed, and there had him tried and sentenced to death for the murder of Abdul Aziz. The sentence was afterward commuted. On February 14, 1877, the Parliament, which had sat through two fruitless sessions under the terms of the new constitution, was permanently dissolved.

Turkey, that she might be prepared to meet the great danger that confronted her, of war with Russia, made peace with Servia on March 1, whereby the war with that state was brought to an end. With Montenegro a settlement could not be reached, for the victorious Montenegrins, refusing to accept a peace pure and simple, made demands that Turkey refused to consider. Russia, on her side, was hardly ready for war. The season was unfavorable, and the distance to Bessarabia great; and were war to be declared hastily, the means of transportation were so inadequate as to give the first advantage undoubtedly to the Turks. Therefore, in order to gain time, Alexander despatched Ignatieff to London and Paris with a proposal which in the main repeated the earlier demands. The London protocol of March 31, in which the Russian draft was considerably modified through British influence, the powers urged the Porte to put into execution the promised reforms, and declared that they proposed to watch the manner in which the Ottoman government performed its task. They also invited Turkey to disarm, but the Earl of Derby (Fig. 48) said



FIG. 48. Earl of Derby, Foreign Secretary of Great Britain (photograph by Thomas Ag. No. 10, London, England).

that England would not be satisfied unless Russia disarmed also. Count Schuvaloff refused to consider this, unless Turkey made peace with Montenegro. Turkey in a great council rejected the Montenegrin terms, and voted to continue the war. Confident of the support of England—and probably, in the end, of Austria—the Ottoman government rejected the last opportunity for peace. On April 13 a great council of war at St. Petersburg decided without regard to the other powers to mobilize the entire Russian army. On April 24 Alexander declared war. At this last moment Turkey reminded the signatories of the treaty of Paris that by the eighth article of that treaty



FIG. 49.—King Charles I. of Rumania.

they were required to mediate between herself and any power threatening to attack her. But the other signers of the treaty had been “mediating” for a year, and of them all England alone was inclined to interfere. And in this juncture England too declared for neutrality, on receiving the assurance that her interests in the Suez Canal, in Egypt, and in the Persian Gulf would not be imperilled, that the navigation of the Danube and the Dardanelles should remain open, and above all, that Constantinople should not be occupied. Russia refused to commit herself on this last point, and England in this particular reserved her

right to act as circumstances might demand. With these matters settled, Russia entered upon the prosecution of the war.

On the day that the Russian declaration of war was delivered in Constantinople, the Russian army crossed the Rumanian frontier. Already had the Russian government come to an understanding with the Rumanians, through whose land lay the way to the Danube. This principality since 1866 had been under the rule of Prince Charles of Hohenzollern (Fig. 49), who with skill and judgment had maintained himself for ten years against the hostility of the local extreme parties and had promoted the development of the land. In this crisis he would willingly have remained neutral, and had negotiated with the sultan,



FIG. 50. General Gortchakov.

hoping to obtain from him the recognition of the independence of Rumania as the price of his neutrality. Failing in this, he addressed himself to Russia, and on April 16 signed a convention governing the conditions of the passage of the Russian troops, and at the same time obtaining from the czar a guaranty of independence and integrity for Rumania. He did not, however, declare war on Turkey until May 31.

During April and May the Russians advanced into Rumania with about 250,000 men under the command of the Grand Duke Nicholas, while Loris-Melikoff in Asia led about 60,000 men against Turkey by way of the Caucasus. The latter had taken Ardahan by May 17, and

was threatening Erzerum. In Europe the advance was slower, and it was not until June 27 that the Danube was passed at Simnitsa, and Sistova seized. Although the Turks had some 190,000 men in Bulgaria to oppose the Russian and Rumanian advance, yet these troops were scattered from Viddin to Silistria, a line nearly 300 miles in length, and there was no body in the centre capable of offering an effective resistance at the point which the Russian commander selected for the passage. Nicopolis capitulated on July 14, and a few days later General Gourko (Fig. 50) seized the Shipka pass leading to Kasanlik, and gained com-



FIG. 51.—Suleiman Pasha.

mand of the two principal routes leading into Rumelia. Thus not only was the Turkish line of defence broken into two parts, but the Russians had gained control of the two natural bulwarks of the Ottoman empire on the north, the Danube and the Balkans. Gourko pushed on toward Hermanli, and by July 25 was ready to advance on Adrianople. The rapidity of these successes, which seemed to presage the eventual victory of Russia and the advance of the Muscovite to the Bosphorus, startled Europe and aroused the wrath of England.

But the Turk was not to be so easily beaten. Suleiman Pasha (Fig. 51), recalled from Montenegro, set out from Antivari with reinforcements from Bosnia and Herzegovina, and assailed Gourko in Shipka

pass. More important still was the work of Osman Pasha (Fig. 52), who commanded the forces around Viddin, and who proved himself to be a military strategist of great ability. About the middle of July, while the Russian centre was pushing southward, he had left Viddin, and, hurrying rapidly down the Danube, had established himself at Plevna with an army of 25,000 men. This point was within three days' march of the Russian bridge over the Danube, and its possession by the Turks threatened the right flank of the Russian army, which stretched from the Danube to the Balkans between the Osma and the



FIG. 52. Osman Pasha.

Jantra. Russia dared not advance further until Plevna was taken, particularly as Suleiman Pasha was threatening her forces from the south, and Mehemet Ali, who had been in command in Albania, was concentrating troops behind the Lom and pressing on the left. To take Plevna was therefore the first necessity, and the Grand Duke Nicholas ordered an immediate attack. Twice, on July 20 and 30, did the Russians hurl themselves on Plevna. The first time, Osman Pasha without difficulty beat back the insufficient forces; but the second time, when the Russians



FIG. 53. — Emperor Alexander II. of Russia, with his staff, before Plevna during the siege. From the painting by Vereshchagin.

returned with greatly augmented strength, the struggle was long and bloody, the Russians eventually retiring with a loss of 7000 men.

In August the attitude of the combatants was reversed; the Turks became the aggressors and forced the attack at every point, while the Russians were in the main driven to defend the positions which they had already taken. Suleiman Pasha endeavored to force his way through Shipka pass, and for five days, August 21-26, attacked Gourko's advance guard under General Radetzky. He was not able, however, to break the Russian defence. Mehemet Ali, operating against the left division under the czarevitch, gained the line of the Lom, and drove the Russians toward Biela. On August 31 Osman Pasha, taking the offensive, pushed as far as Skalevitze and was driven back with difficulty. To Russia's surprise and consternation the "sick man" was proving himself possessed of unexpected strength.

Alexander II. now called for four new army corps from the interior and ordered the mobilization of the Guards. The Rumanians, who had hitherto confined their activity to the left bank of the Danube, and had intentionally avoided engaging in military operations in Bulgaria, now heeded the appeal of the czar, and under their prince, Charles, joined the forces investing Plevna. Another attack upon Osman Pasha's position was planned and executed. From the 6th to the 13th of September the allied forces made a notable effort to break down the Turkish defence, but though for six days Prince Charles, who had taken the chief command of the troops before Plevna, assailed the Turkish defences with a loss of 16,000 men, he was compelled in the end to withdraw. The failure of this onslaught showed the Russians that Plevna could not be taken by assault, and that even for an investment new forces would be needed. For the moment the czar, acting on the advice of Bismarck, considered the plan of abandoning the right bank of the Danube and of retiring into Rumania for the winter. But in the end this plan was rejected, for the czar was unwilling to give up the advantages thus far gained. In November reinforcements, a part of the Guards and the engineer-corps, arrived at Plevna, and the direction of the siege was entrusted to General Todleben, the hero of Sebastopol, assisted by General Skobelev (Fig. 54). A regular blockade was now inaugurated, and during the first part of November (9 to 11) Skobelev, by means of earthworks, redoubts, and trenches, gradually surrounded the town. Already had Gourko, operating along the line of the western Balkans, cut off all connection between Plevna and Sofia, and thus destroyed Osman Pasha's last hope of deliverance from Mehemet Ali, who had gathered an army at Sofia for the release of his imprisoned country-

men. On December 4 Suleiman Pasha, placed at the head of the Turkish and Bulgarian armies, made an assault on the right wing of the Russians at Elene, south of Tirnova; but though he succeeded in driving them back, he was checked at Yakovitsa on December 5 and 6 and compelled to assume the defensive.



FIG. 54.—General Skobelev.

These victories greatly encouraged the besiegers, and they were further roused to enthusiasm by the successes of the army in Armenia, commanded by the Grand Duke Michael (Fig. 55), brother of the czar, with Loris-Melikoff in actual control of the military operations. During the summer the Turks had been able to check the Russian advance after the storming of Ardahan, and had compelled the Russian commander to raise the siege of Kars. But after the arrival of reinforcements in September and October, the siege was resumed, and a victory on October 15 over Muktar Pasha at Visinkoi, when 8000 Turks were compelled to surrender, was followed by a vigorous prosecution of the attack on Kars under encouraging circumstances. Finally, on November 13, the assault was begun, and five days later Kars fell. The way now lay open to Erzerum. The news of this victory inspired the besiegers of Plevna. On December 10 Osman Pasha, cut off from all hope of aid from without and reduced to starvation, made a desperate attempt to cut his way through the Russian lines. Wounded in the bloody conflict that followed and driven back to the banks of the Vid, the lion of Plevna was finally forced to surrender. His heroic defence, whereby for 143 days

he had checked the southward advance of the entire Russian army, stands as one of the most noteworthy events in the annals of military history.

With the fall of Plevna the Turkish defence was broken down. Servia, who had been arming for some months, immediately declared war, and, crossing the Bulgarian frontier, attacked Viddin. Gourko, no longer needed for the investment of Plevna, turned again toward the Balkans, and by a skillful movement, which was carried out under great difficulties amid the narrow defiles, blocked by snow and ice, engaged and defeated the Turks before Sofia on January 3, 1878, and raised the blockade of the Shipka pass. Radetzky then set his corps in motion,



FIG. 55.—Grand Duke Michael.

and, using the bridle-paths on the east and west of the Shipka pass, which the Turks deemed impassable at this season, succeeded, after suffering indescribable hardships from the cold, in surrounding Vessel Pasha and his 32,000 men. During the four days' struggle, from January 5 to 9, Radetzky, Mirsky, and Skobelev checked every attempt of the Turks to break through the circle, and, after a battle of nine hours, forced them to surrender. On January 16 Gourko entered Philippopolis. All the Russian forces emerging from the passes of the Balkans converged on Adrianople. Suleiman Pasha and his forces, attempting to make a stand at that point, were driven westward into the mountain ranges of

Rhodope and dispersed. On January 20 the entire Russian army gathered at Adrianople; and by the 31st the advance columns had reached both Khorlu, in the environs of Constantinople, and Rodosto, situated on the Sea of Marmora. Already had the Servians occupied Nisch; and the Montenegrins, Antivari and Duleigno. The end of European Turkey seemed at hand; and the sultan, panic-stricken, prepared for flight to Brusa, in Asia Minor.

Ever since the fall of Plevna, that is for nearly a month, had the Porte been endeavoring by other means than force of arms to check the successful progress of Russia. First, on December 12, it had sought to obtain the mediation of the powers, but all save England declined to interfere. Having failed in this effort, the sultan had addressed an autograph letter to Queen Victoria, who at once communicated with the czar regarding an early peace, and offered her mediation. But the czar had answered that Turkey must negotiate with Russia directly, and not through any other power. Driven to take extreme measures, the Porte on January 9 had asked of Russia a suspension of hostilities; but Russia had replied that an armistice would not be granted until Turkey had agreed to the preliminaries of peace. Forced by the steady advance of the Russian troops southward, the Porte finally accepted Russia's terms; and, the preliminaries having been signed, on January 31 the desired armistice was granted. A month later, on March 3, 1878, the treaty of San Stefano was duly subscribed by Ignatieff, the representative of Russia, and Sevrer Pasha, acting for the Porte.

In drafting the terms of the treaty of San Stefano, Ignatieff, who had been given plenipotentiary powers by the Russian government, dealt with Turkey as if no treaty of Paris or London protocol had ever been signed, and as if the independence of the Ottoman empire did not rest, in reality, on an international agreement. His demands were such as to undo all the good results of the czar's peaceful declarations made before the war, and to turn the leading powers of Europe against Russia. In committing this act, Ignatieff involved Russia in a great diplomatic blunder. Already was England rousing herself to action. Early in February, Parliament had been convened in order to vote a grant of six million pounds for extraordinary armaments. On February 14 the British fleet, despite the protest of the Porte, had been sent through the Dardanelles with orders to land troops in case Russia should occupy Constantinople; the reserves had been called in; Indian troops had been despatched to the Mediterranean; and Lord Napier of Magdala had been appointed to the command of an expeditionary corps. Austria, also, who saw herself in danger of losing all advantages, was mobilizing

her troops in Dalmatia and on the Danube and the Save, and was preparing to say that, inasmuch as she considered the provisions of the treaty of Paris still in force, she would not recognize any separate compact between Russia and the Porte. Yet, despite these evidences of an Anglo-Austrian hostility, Ignatieff, with little tact and no diplomatic skill, was forcing Turkey to sign a treaty which intelligent statesmen knew Russia could not carry out, save after a successful war with England and Austria.

By the treaty of San Stefano, Russia proposed to create an autonomous but tributary principality of Bulgaria, with five millions of inhabitants, a Christian government, a national militia, and a constitutional form of government. This Greater Bulgaria was to comprise Bulgaria proper, Eastern Rumelia, and the greater part of Macedonia with its 400,000 Bulgarian inhabitants. The boundaries of the new state were to be the Danube on the north, the Black Sea on the east, a line from the Black Sea to the Aegean on the southeast, and, on the south, the Aegean and the peninsula of Salonica. This Greater Bulgaria was planned in such a way as to break the Ottoman empire in Europe into four parts: Constantinople and its environs on the east, the peninsula of Salonica on the south, Thessaly and Albania on the southwest and west, and, on the northwest, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and the Sandjak of Novibazar. For two years this principality was to be occupied by the Russian army, or until a Russian commission should draft a constitution and initiate reforms. In addition, the treaty provided for the independence of Montenegro and Servia, each of which was to receive large additions of territory; and of Rumania, which in return for the Lower Dobrudja, was to give back to Russia the portion of Bessarabia she had lost in 1856. Bosnia and Herzegovina were to have an autonomous government, and the Porte was to pay an indemnity of 1,410,000,000 roubles, which was, however, in large part to be commuted for the isles of the delta of the Danube, Ardahan, Kars, Batum, Bayazid.

No sooner was the treaty of San Stefano known to the world than England and Austria declared that they would not accept it. Both powers demanded that the treaty be submitted to the powers sitting in a general congress. Andrassy carried a proposal in the Austro-Hungarian delegations that a European agreement must be reached in regard to the changes which might be rendered necessary in the treaties of 1856 and 1871 through the new compact of San Stefano. Disraeli, willing to go to war, had Austria been ready to support him, declared that England would send representatives to a congress only on condition that all the terms of the treaty of San Stefano be submitted to its consideration.

Russia might have been inclined to accept the Anglo-Austrian challenge, had she not been wholly unprepared for another war, and had not Germany made it plain that in the event of war she would not support her. Bismarck had already announced on February 28 that he was in favor of a congress, and was ready to stand not as a partisan, but as an honest broker, a conciliatory intermediary between the buyer and the seller, though, as he afterward acknowledged, his sympathies lay on the side of Russia, whose friendship he wished to retain so far as this might be done without impairing his relations with other friendly nations. The czar yielded, and agreed to treat directly with England. The Russian



FIG. 56.—Count Schuvaloff.

ambassador at the court of St. James, Count Schuvaloff (Fig. 56) betook himself to London, and on May 30 signed an agreement in regard both to the points on which an accommodation had been arrived at, and to those to be referred to the congress. Russia gave up the Greater Bulgaria and renounced a part of her conquests in Asia. England accepted the remaining conditions of the treaty. On June 4 she signed secretly a treaty with the Porte, according to which she engaged to protect Asiatic Turkey against attacks from Russia, provided she were allowed to occupy the island of Cyprus. Inasmuch as it was understood that Austria was to be allowed to occupy Bosnia and

The Artist.

Count Mouy.
Count Corti. Count St. Vallier. Desprez.

Baron Haymerle. Count Lamour. Waddington. Prince Hohenlohe.
Count Caroly. Prince Gortchakoff. Lord Beaconsfield. von Radowitz. Baron Oubril. (

The Congres

Painting by Anton vo

Dr. Busch.

von Holstein - Count Herbert Bismarck, - Count Otto Bismarck - Count Schlegel.



Lehrer Bucher
t Andrassy. PRINCE BISMARCK

Schlegel Otto
COUNT Schlegel - Count Otto

Count Otto Bismarck
Bismarck and Schlegel

f Berlin, 1878

erner, Berlin, City Hall.

PLATE V.

The Author


$$P(x) = \frac{1}{2} \left(x + \frac{1}{x} \right) \quad \text{for } x \in \mathbb{R} \setminus \{0\}$$

Wolfgang
Friedrich

Prof. Dr. phil. habil. Dr. med. habil. Dr. h. c. Dr. h. c. h. c.
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$$M = \{ \mu \in \mathcal{M}_0 \mid \mu \ll \nu \}$$

The Congress of Berlin, 1878

Painting by Anton von Werner, Berlin, City Hall.

Dr. Busch.

von Holstein Count Herbert Bismarck. Lord Odo Russell. Lord Salisbury.



Lothar Bucher.
Andrássy. Prince Bismarck.

Sadullah Bey.
Count Schenk.

Karatheodori Pasha.
Herrmann.

Berlin, 1878

ruer, Berlin, City Hall.

Herzegovina, the two opposing powers went to the congress with their particular interests already secured.

The congress (PLATE V.) opened at Berlin on June 13, 1878, under the presidency of Bismarck. The representatives of Greece, Rumania, and Persia were admitted only to those sittings in which the special interests of those states were considered. The points most difficult to arrange were those relating to the organization of Bulgaria and the cessions in Armenia. England, represented by Disraeli and Salisbury, contested nearly every point with Gortchakoff (Fig. 57) and Schuvaloff, the representatives of Russia. For the Greater Bulgaria of the San Stefano



FIG. 57. Prince Gortchakoff

treaty, England demanded the substitution of a principality of Bulgaria, tributary to the sultan, but otherwise independent, with a freely chosen, non-hereditary prince recognized by the Porte and approved by the powers; a province of Eastern Rumelia with its own local militia and independent administration, under a governor named for five years by the Porte with the assent of the powers; and Macedonia to remain as before wholly under Ottoman control. To this Russia agreed, remaining firm, however, on one point, the cession of Bessarabia, against which the Rumanian deputies supported by England protested vigorously. The Porte consented to cede to Russia Kars, Ardahan, and the harbor of

Batum, and to Persia the city and environs of Khotur, binding itself at the same time to introduce reforms in Armenia, and to defend it against the incursions of Kurds and Circassians. To the surprise of the congress, Russia made no objection to the proposal of England that Austria be confirmed in her possession of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Furthermore, the congress declared in favor of the free navigation of the Danube, and reaffirmed the provisions of the treaties of Paris and London regarding the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles; it declared Servia, Rumania, and Montenegro independent, and to the first and the last allowed important additions of territory, not as great, however, as had been agreed upon at San Stefano; it took into favorable consideration the wishes of the Greeks for a rectification of their frontiers, but demanded that they negotiate directly with the Porte, promising the mediation of the powers in case an understanding should not be reached. Lastly, Turkey bound herself to introduce in Crete and the Christian provinces religious liberty, civil and political equality, and the right of every person to be heard as a witness in the courts. On July 13 the congress was closed.

The congress of Berlin, whatever may have been its effect on the relations hitherto existing between the powers, did not settle the Eastern question, although it helped materially to that end. It made possible the development in the Balkan peninsula of vigorous and independent states with Christian populations, which were to prove important barriers against further encroachments of the northern power. But in respect of Turkey, its work was purely negative. It rescued the Ottoman empire once more from destruction, not because that empire deserved such gentle treatment, but because England's fear of Russia and her determination to maintain her route to India demanded that the Ottoman empire be kept intact. The policy of Disraeli had a hollow ring and was frequently supported by specious arguments. It took no account of the sacrifices of Russia, of the wishes of the lesser nationalities, of the best interests of Europe. It was based on a selfish regard for what would benefit England, for what would promote the imperial scheme which he had made the leading feature of his premiership, for what would give reality to certain fantasies of his literary youth. The congress of Berlin averted a general war, and Disraeli, who had been only too ready to throw down the challenge of war to Russia the year before, now returned to England bearing peace with honor. But the Berlin congress did not reform Turkey or promote peace among the Christian inhabitants of the Balkans: Macedonia remained enslaved, Eastern Rumelia continued to be a Turkish province, the Bulgarians a disunited

nationality, and the Slavic population of the south revengeful and discontented. Between the excessive demands of Ignatieff on one side and the equally excessive demands of Disraeli on the other, the matter of Turkey and her dependent peoples was left to trouble Europe indefinitely for the future.

Nevertheless, after the treaty of Berlin, externally Turkey was changed in important particulars. Servia, Rumania, and Montenegro had become independent, thus transferring the northern boundary of Turkey from the Carpathians, the Transylvanian Alps, the upper Danube, and the Drina to the lower Danube and the tributaries of the Morava. With the semi-independence of Bulgaria and the self-government of Eastern Rumelia, this line receded still farther to the Rhodope range. On the west and the south equally important changes were effected, though the decrees of the powers at Berlin were carried out with no little difficulty. Servia obtained without opposition the districts about Nisch and Pirot on the side of Bulgaria, rather than those on the side of Montenegro, as had been arranged in the treaty of San Stefano. But when Austria sought to take possession of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Mussulman population, to which the Greek Catholics mostly allied themselves, placed themselves on the defensive; and the Austrian General Philippovich had to take Bosna-Serai by assault and to effect a conquest of the country before an orderly administration could be instituted. When this had been done, the provinces rose rapidly out of barbarism into civilization. By agreements with the Porte, Austria continued to extend her influence steadily toward the southeast. In 1883 she obtained a concession for a railroad from her frontiers to Constantinople on one side, and to Salonica on the other. After the alliance of Austria with Germany in 1879, an understanding was reached which strengthened Austria's position in the Balkan peninsula. And this became more definite when, after 1890, William II., reversing the policy of Bismarck, not only refused to renew the treaty of 1884 with Russia, but began himself to show a lively interest in the affairs and lands of the sultan. By this understanding Austria's sphere of influence in the southeast seemed to be recognized.

In Montenegro and Greece difficulties were experienced likewise. The treaty of Berlin almost doubled the size of Montenegro by granting to her large additions in the north and extensions in the south, which included Antivari and Duleigno, with a strip of seacoast. But in January, 1880, when Prince Nicholas sought to take possession of Gusinje and Plava, the Albanians resisted, and Mehemet Ali, who had been sent there as commissioner of the Porte, was assassinated. In re-

sponse to an appeal from Prince Nicholas to the powers, a fleet appeared before Dulcigno in September. The Porte yielded to a compromise suggested by Austria; Gusinje and Plava were restored to Turkey, while the harbor and district of Dulcigno were given to Montenegro, thus confirming her in the possession of a seaboard of thirty miles.

But more difficult of settlement was the controversy over the Greek frontiers; for Turkey did not see why she should make cessions to Greece merely to show her gratitude because that power had not taken part in the war. According to the suggestion made by the congress the rectification was to be made along the line of the Salambria River on the east, and the Kalamas River on the west. But Turkey refused to agree, and in 1880 and 1881 the powers took the matter into consideration. Finally, on May 22, 1881, the conference at Constantinople, after long discussion, declared that the boundary between the two countries should be a line running from Lake Arta up the river of the same name, thence easterly to the Aegean. By this settlement, which was far from satisfactory to Greece, Epirus and a part of Thessaly remained under Ottoman rule. The Porte accepted the decision on June 14, and Greece, although she would have gone to war gladly in defence of this territory, which she thought should be hers, decided it was better policy to accept

the decision of the powers and allow Turkey to occupy the districts assigned without opposition. But the country showed its hostility by sending up a Chamber in 1881 antagonistic to the premier, Coumoundouros, and Tricoupis (Fig. 58) became prime minister March, 1882, and remained in office, with but one interruption, from 1882 to 1890. Filled with the idea of a Greater Greece which should lead in the Balkan peninsula, Tricoupis undertook to create an army, a navy, and a system of railroads. After his return to power in 1886, he sought to improve the impaired credit of the country, to complete the canal



FIG. 58. Tricoupis.

across the isthmus of Corinth, which had been started in 1882, and to extend the railroads connecting Greece with other European countries.

One of his most noteworthy measures was that concerning parliamentary and electoral reform, according to which the deputies were decreased in number, the electoral districts were extended, and the eligibility of military persons was made more difficult.

After Rumania had been made independent and her scheme for a Greater Bulgaria had failed, Russia found herself, to a large extent, shut out of the Balkan peninsula, and compelled to exercise what influence she could, secretly or through indirect means. Unable at once to accommodate herself to the new situation, she delayed withdrawing her



FIG. 59. — Bratiano

troops, and made the obligation of Turkey to pay a war indemnity of 802,500,000 francs, arranged for in a treaty of February 8, 1879, an expedient for bringing pressure to bear on the Porte whenever occasion demanded. With Rumania the relations were peaceful, though the Rumanians deemed Russia's demand for Bessarabia but a shabby return for the assistance which they had given her when hard pressed in the war of 1877. Prince Charles and his minister Bratiano (Fig. 59) were unwilling, however, to endanger the newly won independence, and, accepting the Dobrudja which Russia gave in exchange for Bessarabia, pursued

a peaceful policy. In Rumania the most important problem related to the clause of the treaty of Berlin which demanded that the Jews should be granted civil rights. Accordingly it became necessary to revise article 7 of the Rumanian constitution, which provided that non-Christian strangers could not be naturalized; and to this end in 1879 after four months of heated discussion, the chambers voted that "differences of religious belief should not constitute a barrier to the acquisition and exercise of political and civil rights." But inasmuch as the full emancipation of the Jews would have endangered the welfare of the state, the chambers made more difficult the naturalization of foreigners, and provided that only Rumanian citizens could acquire landed property in



FIG. 60.—King Milan of Serbia.

the principality and establish public-houses in the country districts. On March 26, 1881, by vote of the legislative body, the principality was erected into a kingdom, and the prince was crowned as king at Bucharest on May 22. In default of an heir the succession to the throne was vested in the king's brother, Leopold of Hohenzollern; but he transferred his rights to his eldest son, who in his turn handed them on to his brother Ferdinand. Under Bratiano in 1884 an important revision of the constitution was undertaken, whereby the national guard was suppressed, and the special college of electors, paying 3000 francs tax, was abolished. Measures were adopted to benefit the peasant proprietors by restricting the absolute right of property, and so preventing the peasant lands from falling into the hands of usurers and speculators. In 1889

Bratiano, who had been premier since 1876, fell from office largely because of agitation among the peasants the year before and the discontent of the Conservatives with the pro-German policy of the government.

Of all the independent Balkan states, Serbia, which had been raised to be a kingdom by vote of its legislative body in March, 1882, was probably the most immature. From the beginning it was a battle-ground for Russian and Austrian diplomacy. Its king, Milan I. (Fig. 60), was friendly to Austria; while in the main, the mass of the people, disliking Austria's occupation of Bosnia and her disposition to prevent the erection of an independent Slavic state, was in sympathy with Russia. The government had been organized in 1869 on a European plan and a constitution had been adopted, largely under the influence of Ristitch. Well-defined parties soon appeared. The Liberals, known as the Constitutionalists, represented by Ristitch and the government, aimed to maintain the authority of the central government and to introduce into Serbia the ideas and institutions of the west. In the opposition were two parties: the Progressists, who believed in a centralized government and desired that Serbia should attain a higher degree of civilization; and the Radicals, who sought to make the legislature dominant, and by its acts to check the power of the government, to extend the autonomy of the communes, and to defend Servian traditions against western influences. The struggles of the first few years were entirely between these parties. The Radicals, using as their model the Socialistic party of Germany, formed an organization in 1881, and grew stronger so rapidly that in 1883 they undertook a revolt against the government. But the attempt was premature and they were suppressed without mercy, many being executed. The king became all-powerful and would very likely have retained his position of supremacy but for the unfortunate and disastrous war into which he entered against Bulgaria in 1885. This act made Milan so unpopular that the Radical party, again taking courage, reorganized; and having become as powerful as before, renewed its demand for a revision of the constitution. The time was opportune, for the position of the opposition was strengthened by the scandals in the private life of the king and his divorce from Queen Natalie, the daughter of a Moldavian boyar, colonel in the Russian army. In 1888 the Radicals forced Milan to call a constituent assembly for the revision of the constitution, and in this assembly the Radicals gained 500 seats, and the Liberals only 79. In consequence of this powerful Radical majority the new constitution, which was voted in December, 1888, and January, 1889, took on a marked anti-monarchical coloring. It provided for a legislature (*Skuptchina*) which was to have greatly increased powers

and to be elected by all taxpayers ; and it also guaranteed liberty of the press, the right of association, and individual liberty. On March 6, 1889, Milan abdicated, declaring that he would not be a king merely to sign papers. The affairs of the kingdom then fell into the hands of the regency which acted for the young prince, Alexander.

Meanwhile Bulgaria was endeavoring to choose her ruler. By the treaty of Berlin she was to have a prince of her own, chosen by the population, and confirmed by the Porte and the powers. The Russian occupation was to be limited to nine months, at the end of which time Bulgaria was to have a constitution. On April 16, 1879, an assembly, which was summoned at Tirnova, by General Dondoukoff-Kordakoff, the Russian administrator, voted the constitution, providing for a prince, himself irresponsible, assisted by a ministry responsible to a general assembly or *Sobranje*. The latter body was to make the laws, to vote

the budget, and to regulate the taxes. In August, Prince Alexander of Battenberg (Fig. 61), at the wish of the czar, was unanimously elected prince.

But scarcely had the new prince made his entry into Sofia, when he became convinced that the constitution was too democratic for the well-being of the country. After two interviews at St. Petersburg, he gained the czar's consent to its suspension, and by so doing aroused



FIG. 61.—Prince Alexander of Battenberg.

the opposition of the people at the very outset of his reign. The Bulgarians had hoped that Alexander would be a Bulgarian prince and not a lieutenant of the czar ; that with them he would fight against the Russian control of Bulgaria, and discourage the activities of the Russian Panslavists, who had seized the highest military and civil offices of the state. But Alexander, not foreseeing the dangers to Bulgaria of continued Russian control, suspended the constitution, and upon threatening to resign, obtained a dictatorship for seven years. This act opened the way for a Russian government of Bulgaria ; and Generals Soboleff and Kaulbars (Fig. 62), ministers respectively of the interior and of war, at once entered upon their work of Russifying the new state. They placed Russian officers

in command of the army, introduced Russian codes and rules, and favored Russian companies in letting out contracts for public works. Aroused by these methods, the Bulgarian Conservatives now began to bring pressure to bear on the prince, and also endeavored to excite a national movement hostile to Russia. Alexander, moved by the arguments of the Bulgarian statesmen and acting under the advice of Grecoff, resigned his extraordinary powers on September 19, 1883, and restored the constitution. The Russians immediately withdrew not only from the assembly, but from all administrative posts; and Alexander then summoned the Liberals to form a ministry.



FIG. 62. General Kaulbars.

Two years later, on September 18, 1885, a revolution at Philippopolis led to the establishment in Eastern Rumelia of a provisional government, which invited Alexander to assume the governorship of that province. Alexander was placed in a difficult position; for should he choose the friendship of Russia, he would be obliged to put down a Rumelian uprising by force, and forfeit the friendship of the Bulgarians, who desired the annexation of this land where the inhabitants were of their own blood. On September 20 he made his choice, and, defying Russia, assumed the title of Prince of North and South Bulgaria. The czar, who disliked Battenberg, at once recalled his officer from the Bulgarian army; but the other European powers, notably Austria and England, at a conference held in Constantinople in

November, consented to the annexation. Turkey, too, inasmuch as her continued overlordship was secured, made no objection, and even proposed to the conference the nomination of Alexander as governor of Rumelia. Bismarck, on his side, distinctly let it be known that Germany did not approve of Russia's employing force; and Russia, finding herself deserted by all the powers, yielded. The legal sanction was given on April 5, 1886.

But if the European powers were willing to acquiesce in this annexation of Rumelia to Bulgaria, the other states of the Balkan peninsula were outraged by this extension of Bulgaria's power. Greece, under the ministry of Delyannis (April, 1885, to April, 1886), endeavored to profit by Bulgaria's success to gain additional territory. The fleet and the army were mobilized and the government was on the eve of declaring war upon Turkey, when the powers, led by France, sent their fleets to Suda Bay and threatened to blockade the coast. But Serbia, more jealous even than Greece of Bulgaria's aggrandizement, declared war on November 13, 1885, on the ground that the Bulgarian government had not exercised a sufficiently rigid surveillance over the Radical refugees who had fled from Serbia after the Radical revolt of 1883. Prince Alexander, gathering 15,000 men composed of Christians and Mussulmans alike, defeated the Servians at Slivnitza on the 19th of November; and having entered Serbia, stormed Pirot on the 28th, and prepared to occupy the capital, Belgrade. But the powers intervened and arranged an armistice on December 26. A peace which was arranged on March 8, 1886, left matters as they had been before.

Russia, having been foiled in all her attempts, now began by other means to stir up new disorders in Bulgaria. In concert with the Russian military attaché, Zankoff, Major Gruyeff and Captain Benderoff entered into a conspiracy for the overthrow of Prince Alexander. Through the connivance of Nikiferoff, minister of war, and Karaveloff, president of the council, the conspirators seized Alexander, and compelled him by threats to abdicate. They then carried him to Reni on the Russian side of the Danube, and thence to Lemberg in Galicia, where he was set free. The conspirators, Clement, the metropolitan, Zankoff, and Gruyeff, assumed control of the government and prepared to restore Russia's influence in the principality. But the indignant Bulgarians overthrew the government, and sending for Alexander, persuaded him to return. But as Russia refused to consent to his assumption again of the rule in Bulgaria, he abdicated on September 7, leaving a regency under the presidency of Stambouloff, son of an inn-keeper of Tirnova, who was destined to become the director of Bulgaria's fortunes for eight years.

Immediately the czar despatched General Kaulbars as *envoy extraordinaire* to restore the rule of the Russian party and to check all efforts of the Bulgarians to assert their constitutional rights. He demanded that the state of siege be raised and the conspirators liberated; and hoping to prepare the way for the election of his candidate, the Prince of Mingrelia, a Russian subject, insisted that the elections be set for October 19. But Stambouloff forced the elections, which resulted in the complete defeat of the Russian party; and on November 18, 1886, the Sobranje chose Waldemar, Prince of Denmark. But Waldemar refused the crown, and another prince had to be found. Meanwhile Stambouloff, who had been confirmed as president of the regency, found himself confronted with two conspiracies, one in November, 1886, when an attempt was made to seize the little coast-fortress of Burgas; and another in March, 1887, at Rutschuk, which implicated the Russian consul in Bucharest, and had for its purpose the overthrow of the regency and the restoration of Russian power in Bulgaria. These movements were savagely suppressed by Stambouloff and the ringleaders executed. Finally, after nine months' delay, Stoiloff, who had been despatched through Europe to find a prince, discovered at Vienna Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, a grandson of Louis Philippe, a young man 26 years old. On the 7th of July, even while the sultan was inviting the powers to name suitable candidates, the Sobranje chose Prince Ferdinand as their sovereign; he, accepting the honor, reached Sofia on August 23 and immediately took the oath to the constitution. Although the election of the prince had not the legitimate confirmation of the Porte or of the powers, yet it was evident that England, Austria, and Italy were not unfavorably disposed toward the young prince; and from some words of Count Kálnoky, Austria-Hungary's foreign minister, it seemed likely that Austria would oppose any attempt of Russia to unseat the new sovereign. Under these auspices Prince Ferdinand began his reign.

CHAPTER V.

THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE EUROPEAN STATES FROM THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY the events of the years 1877 and 1878 a noteworthy change was effected in the foreign policies of the greater states of Europe. The "alliance" of the three emperors, arranged in 1872 in order to facilitate, *inter alia*, an amicable agreement with regard to difficulties that might arise out of the Eastern question, was now hopelessly shattered. Austria by her gains in the distribution of territory in the congress of Berlin had become the great rival of Russia in the southeast, while Germany, by her failure to support Russia in the congress, had aroused the wrath of the Pan Slavists and brought upon Bismarck the charge of responsibility for Russia's humiliation. Gortchakoff, believing that Russia had made a great mistake in allowing Prussia to defeat France in 1871, declared that the congress of Berlin formed the gloomiest page in all Russia's history. The war minister, Milyutin, not concealing his predilections, is supposed to have sent agents to Paris to pave the way for an understanding with France. Even Alexander II., the old and constant ally of Germany, could say that "Bismarck had forgotten his engagements of 1870." Disturbed by these menaces, and fearing that his old-time friendship with Russia was endangered, the Emperor of Germany despatched Field-Marshal von Manteuffel to Warsaw to arrange a personal meeting with the czar. The interview, which took place in September, 1879, at the Russian frontier station, Alexandrovo, was marked by the warm friendship of the emperors for each other.

The friendship of the two monarchs, however, could not alter the relations which had developed between the two governments. Loath to impair the old friendly understanding, Bismarck had hoped that a skilful diplomacy, aided by the affectionate regard of the emperor for his nephew, the czar, would make possible the re-establishment of the old agreement and the maintenance of the alliance. This hope had proved vain. The fact that Austria, who had made no sacrifices, was the gainer by a war in which Russia had borne the brunt of the labor, made impossible the continuance of amicable relations between Russia and Austria, while the unmistakable hostility of the Russian people for

the Germans and Magyars rendered the personal good-will of their emperors of little avail. Influenced by the persistent attacks of the Russian press upon both Germany and Austria, and perceiving that the time had come when a choice between his former allies was necessary, Bismarck, with characteristic rapidity of decision, in September, 1879, sought an interview with Count Andrassy at Vienna, and drafted there the outlines of an Austro-German alliance. Emperor William after long hesitation having appended his signature, this agreement was concluded on October 7 of the same year. As an act of amity, Francis Joseph consented to abrogate the clause of the treaty of Prague regarding the cession of Northern Schleswig to Denmark. The treaty was kept strictly secret, its terms being first disclosed in the *Reichsanzeiger* of February 3, 1888. It bound each state to assist the other with its full strength in case either were attacked by Russia, and to conclude peace only in common with the other. If either were attacked by some power not Russia—by France, for example—the other was to remain neutral, assisting only in case Russia should give aid to the attacking power. The treaty was hailed by the German press with enthusiasm as a federation of the two great military powers of Central Europe, of such preponderating importance as to isolate Russia and support Austria, and to protect Central Europe from the machinations of Pan-Slavism on one side and French Chauvinism on the other.

Neither the Emperor William nor Bismarck was willing to give up the close relations which had existed between Germany and Russia—relations which present circumstances seemed inclined to favor. The personal regard of Alexander II. for William preserved an outward harmony which was continued after Alexander's death on March 13, 1881, by his son Alexander III. The place of the old foreign minister Gortchakoff, who had practically retired from public life, was taken by privy councillor de Giers, Gortchakoff's deputy, until his formal retirement in 1882. On March 11, 1883, Gortchakoff died at the age of 85. On the accession of Alexander III., de Giers declared that the policy of the czar was one of peace and that Russia would remain true to her friends and cultivate kindly relations with all states by acts of reciprocal favor. In accordance with this declaration Alexander III., who was worried by the attacks of the Nihilists, arranged a meeting with Emperor William at Dantzic, September 9, 1881. The results of the visit, which was construed as more than a mere act of courtesy, were evidently satisfactory. The friendly feeling thus established seemed to be confirmed by the visit of de Giers immediately afterward to Varzin, Bismarck's Pomeranian seat, to Berlin, and to Vienna, so that to all appear-

ances Bismarck had succeeded in paying the way for a renewal of confidential relations among the three emperors. The existence of the secret treaty with Austria against Russia was not, of course, disclosed. The Panslavists, who had rejoiced in the early attitude of the new czar, were taken aback by this turn of affairs and began to lose ground. On April 9 the czar named de Giers (Fig. 63) as foreign minister in the place of Gortchakoff, resigned, an act followed two months afterward by the dismissal of Ignatieff as minister of the interior. The death of General Skobelev, a participator in the war of 1877 and victor in the fight of Geok-Tepe against the Turcomans in 1881, was a further gain for peace. Skobelev had been a fiery and outspoken Panslavist, who in a speech of



FIG. 63.—De Giers.

January 12, 1882, had sought to stir up the Slavs against the Germans and Magyars and to arouse a war of revenge against Austria. Apparently Panslavism had overreached itself. Bismarck, following up his advantages, proposed to Alexander at a meeting of the three emperors held in September, 1884, at Skievnevice, a closer *entente* between Germany and Russia. Alexander, in dread of the Nihilists and fearing lest England might be disposed to avenge herself upon Russia for the recent seizure of Merv and Penjdeh, agreed to a treaty of benevolent neutrality in which each power bound itself to remain neutral in case the other were attacked by an outside power. The outside power referred to was probably England. The understanding was kept a profound secret until its general character was disclosed by the *Hamburger Nachrichten* of

October 27, 1896. Even then its exact terms were not given. In 1887 the czar visited Berlin, and outwardly at least the relations between Germany and Russia were once more on a friendly basis.

The hostility of the Russian press found an echo in the speeches of the Chauvinists in France, construed by Germany as an expression of the opinion of the French government. Feeling herself to be between two fires, Germany renewed the Septennate, increasing her standing army to 427,250 men. The persistent rumors of a Franco-Russian *entente*, already announced in the Russian papers, led Bismarck to urge upon Italy the desirability of joining the Central European league, and so transforming the dual into a triple alliance. Italy had been almost the only power present in Berlin that had gained no advantages from the results of the congress. She had sought her compensation on the other side of the Mediterranean, and, as Damiani said in the Italian Chamber, saw in Tunis the last opening to the expansion of her territory. Her hope was dashed, however, by the actions of the French government, which, deeming it contrary to the interests of France that any other power should be established on the frontier of Algiers, took measures to occupy Tunis itself. In 1880 the Waddington ministry carried on a war with the Bedouin tribes of the Kroumir, who had encroached on the territory of Algiers, and freed the Tunisian frontier. In May, 1881, Ferry, by compelling the bey to sign the treaty of Bardo, had gained for France practical control of Tunis. By this action Italy felt outraged, for on account of the many Italian residents in Tunis she deemed the country to be within her legitimate sphere of influence. Cairoli, who was favorable to France, at once resigned, and Depretis, the enemy of France, took his place, with Mancini as minister of foreign affairs. The result of this change of ministry was the accession of Italy to the central alliance. Bismarck intimated to the foreign minister that the way from Rome to Berlin lay through Vienna; and Mancini, in accordance with this hint, at once began to denounce the attacks of the Irredentists by which the friendly relations between Italy and Austria were endangered. "What the Irredentists want," said Mancini, "are not Trieste and Trent, but the overthrow of the monarchy." In October, 1881, King Humbert by a visit to Vienna prepared the way for a closer alliance. But the negotiations were continued for a year and a half; and it was not until January, 1883, after Humbert had visited Berlin, that all difficulties were removed, and the treaty was finally signed.

By the accession of Italy to the alliance, the isolation of France was completed. France was just entering on a critical period in her history, and it fell to the lot of the Republican party, which had been victorious

in 1875 and 1879, to manage the affairs of state in the face of jealousies and rivalries in its own ranks and bitter opposition on the part of the Monarchists and the Radicals. The reactionists sought to make capital out of every turn of foreign affairs that might be used for the embarrassment of the government. They raised an outcry over the manoeuvres of the German army in Nassau in 1883, and insulted Alfonso XII. of Spain, who, after receiving the nomination as chief of a Uhlan regiment in Strassburg, returned to his kingdom by way of Paris in order to pay a call of courtesy upon President Grévy. These demonstrations, however, irritating as they were to the Germans, were in no way chargeable against the government, and they did not represent the spirit of the French people at large. During the years from 1883 to 1886 the diplomatic relations between France and Germany remained in the main peaceful, the identity of the colonial interests of the two powers seeming for the moment, in 1885, to draw them together in a common opposition to England.

With the elevation of Boulanger in January, 1886, to be minister of war in the Freycinet cabinet, the party of revenge found a man upon whom they counted to realize their ambitions. Boulanger devoted his energies to improving the discipline of the French army and augmenting its numbers. All that he did the Germans construed in the light of a war of revenge. Two unfortunate incidents served for the moment to intensify the situation. German officers of the police in disguise enticed over the frontiers and made prisoner a French boundary official, Schnaebeler, commissary of the French police, who was thought to be engaged in espionage. This incident, trifling enough in itself, gave rise to great excitement in Paris, chiefly on account of the secrecy with which the German government had conducted the investigation. Bismarck finally restored Schnaebeler to his own side of the border, but took occasion to declare that the arrest had taken place legally on German soil and that Schnaebeler had been proved guilty of espionage and treasonable correspondence. Four weeks afterward the peace party gained the upper hand in Paris, and Boulanger left the ministry. In the autumn a new complication arose. A German officer, appointed to watch against poaching on the frontiers, shot a forester who was in attendance on a French hunting party, at the same time wounding an officer. The German ambassador delivered a note to the French foreign minister, Flourans, expressing deep regret for the misadventure, and handed him 50,000 marks as compensation for the family of the murdered man.

In the same year Crispi, the new Italian premier, and Count Kálnoky, the Austrian foreign minister (Fig. 64), visited Bismarck at

Friedrichsruh. At this meeting the bonds of the triple alliance were renewed. The relations between France and Italy, already not cordial, were strained still farther by certain incidents of the year that followed. Crispi, the successor of Depretis, had taken over the policy of his predecessor and stood for friendship with Germany and loyalty to the triple alliance. Four months after the visit to Friedrichsruh he refused, after long negotiations, to continue the treaty of commerce which had been concluded with France in 1881. His refusal was followed by a tariff war as injurious to the material welfare of the two countries as to their harmonious relations. In January, 1888, a magistrate, Tosini, sought to obtain by force from the French consulate in Florence certain



FIG. 64.—Count Kálnoky.

papers left him by the Tunisian Muley Hassan, which the French consul would not give up. In May and June, General Baldissera imposed taxes on Greeks, French protégés, in the Red Sea colony of Massowah, acquired by Italy in 1885. Baldissera's act was contrary to the capitulations and led to a long controversy between the French and Italian governments regarding Italy's status in Eastern Africa. The Italians declared that France had sought to keep them from obtaining a foothold on the Red Sea near the French protectorate in Somaliland. Crispi, claiming that the sovereignty of Italy was as firmly established at Massowah as was that of France at Obock, in a *manifesto* August 3, appealed to the powers. His appeal was followed by a second visit to

Bismarck at Friedrichsruh and a meeting with Count Kálnoky at Eger on the Austrian frontier. The French, influenced also by a speech made by William II. at the unveiling of a statue to Prince Frederick Charles on August 13, in which he declared that not one stone of what the Germans had taken in 1871 should be wrested from them, saw in Crispi's journey a menace of war. The Italian minister, however, on his return to Turin showed the French their mistake by a declaration of the peaceful character of his mission. "It has been stated," he said, "that in Friedrichsruh we entered into a conspiracy. Be it so. I, an old conspirator, do not recoil before the charge. Nay, if you will, we have conspired; but our conspiracy was in favor of peace and of a kind that all who see the greatest good in peace are free to take part in. Of all the important things said there I may repeat only the words spoken at the moment of departure, 'We have conferred a service on Europe.'" When William II. visited Rome in October, he was received with great enthusiasm. He reviewed the army and navy and decorated the president of the council (Crispi) with the grand cross of the Black Eagle.

The years 1886 and 1887 were bristling with rumors of war. The annexation of Eastern Rumelia to Bulgaria and the election of Prince Ferdinand marked the defeat of Russia on the Bulgarian question. The tone of the Russian press during these years continued unremittingly hostile to Germany, whom the writers charged with working through agents in the East against the interests of Russia and in favor of Austria. Though the understanding of 1884 still remained in force, and Bismarck knew that officially the peace would not be broken, yet to the world at large many indications seemed suggestive of war. Katkoff in the *Moscow Gazette* declared that Germany was Russia's chief enemy and was in league with Austria and the English Tories to thwart Russia's policy; that France was Russia's only friend. "To play with fire as they are doing at Berlin," Katkoff declared, "is exceedingly dangerous." In a telegram of condolence sent after the death of Katkoff in the following August, the czar declared that the great Pan Slavist "had been inspired by a true love of country and had labored to uphold Russian national sentiment and influence." Déroulède, of the League of the Patriots, hastened to Russia to lay a wreath on the grave of the enemy of Germany, and at a banquet spoke of the union of Russia and France in a war of revenge. Even the government of Russia seemed ready to attack Germany indirectly. On May 7, 1887, by raising the duty on iron and steel, it injured the iron industry of Silesia. A ukase of May 24, intended to further the Russification of the Baltic provinces, seemed especially aimed at the German landholders there. It enacted that

landed property in the western provinces could be devised or sold to Russians only. At once Germany endeavored to retaliate. The imperial bank and the Prussian marine opened an economic war on Russia. The press in the confidence of the chancellor claimed that the Russian government, as it had rendered Russian landed property practically valueless to Germans, might in the same way confiscate all Russian paper in German hands. In one day the paper sank 10 per cent. in value. A visit of Alexander III. to Berlin on November 18, on his return journey to St. Petersburg from Copenhagen, revealed, according to the account given in the *Cologne Gazette*, the immediate cause of Russian diplomatic hostility. The czar granted an hour's interview to Prince Bismarck, in which he declared to him that behind Russia's back and in contradiction to official despatches destined for St. Petersburg, Bismarck had pursued in connection with Bulgaria a policy hostile to Russia. "Your majesty," replied Bismarck, "if anyone has submitted such notes to you as emanating from me, he has deceived you; I have never written such, and my ambassador has never reported anything of the kind to me." Before the end of the year Bismarck was able to show, through the *Reichsanzeiger*, that these famous "Bulgarian documents" were audacious forgeries, planned and executed, it was thought, by members of the Orleanist party in France. Alexander declared himself satisfied with the explanation and assured the chancellor that he had never thought either of an attack on Germany or an entrance into a coalition against her.

Toward the end of the year 1887, nevertheless, Russia was collecting troops and ammunition of war upon the Silesian and Galician frontiers. It was necessary, therefore, to prepare Germany for resistance to any possible attack. A military service law, the draught of which was submitted by the minister of war, von Schellendorf, to the Reichstag on December 9, 1887, proposed to restore the landwehr of the first levy and to prolong to the age of 39 the period of liability to service. By this means the war strength of the army would be increased by 700,000 men. Bismarck, taking advantage of the debate on this motion, published on February 3, 1888, the terms of the Austro-German alliance of October 7, 1879, and three days afterward delivered a great speech on the political situation in its relation to the German empire, addressed rather to Europe than to the Reichstag. In it Bismarck declared his faith in the pacific intentions of Russia and his desire to remain on friendly terms with her; he reaffirmed the statement that Germany cared nothing for Bulgaria, and that whatever Russia might obtain there by diplomacy and without resort to force, she could have with Germany's consent, adding that in case Russia should attack Austria, a thing not

impossible, Germany would stand by her ally. Finally, in a word of warning to the war-parties in both France and Russia, he rose to almost epic grandeur in an eloquent epilogue. "I do not believe in an immediate breach of peace," he said, "and I beg you to deal with the measure laid before you independently of any such thought, and simply as rendering completely available the mighty power which God has entrusted to the German nation for any event calling on them to use it. If we do not need to use it, we will not appeal to it. We desire to avoid any contingency requiring us to use it. But this effort of ours is made in some degree more difficult by the threatening tone of the foreign press, and I would gladly address the admonition to these respective countries to desist from threats. They lead to nothing. The menacing tone assumed by the press is indeed a piece of incredible stupidity, as showing that it believes it can intimidate a power as great and proud as Germany now is, merely by an expenditure of printer's ink. We may be won over, perhaps too easily, through love and kindly feeling, but by threats never. We Germans fear God, and besides Him nothing else in the world; and it is the fear of God that makes us love and cultivate peace. But who, in spite of all, breaks this will soon convince himself that the heroic love of country which in 1813 called the whole people of the then weak and exhausted Prussia into the field, is to-day common to the whole German nation, and that whoever attacks it on any pretext will find its sons armed as one man, and the heart of every man full of the firm faith that God will be with us."

Bismarck's speech had a quieting effect upon Europe. After the meeting with Alexander III. at Berlin and the discovery of the forged documents, the chancellor had no fear of a rupture with Russia, and was convinced that the massing of troops on the western frontier was of tactical importance only. Yet he knew too that the czar was not all Russia, and that the Panslavist hot-heads would destroy the peace if possible. The power of Panslavism was shown in 1888 by the promotion of General Bogdanovitch, a Panslav leader, to a post in the department of the interior, next in importance to that of the minister himself. Alexander, however, so far as foreign relations were concerned, had waged, during his reign, an incessant war on Panslavists, non-official politicians, and all agitators of the Aksakoff, Tcherniaeff, Atchinoff type, and was resolutely determined himself to be master, a fact that Germany and Austria were a long time in finding out. So it happened that when Boulanger fled from France, the League of the Patriots was for the time being silenced, and, the whole excitable crowd being branded with cowardice, the danger of war was passed for Europe.

After the accession of William II. to the throne, the policy of Germany was for a time uncertain because no one seemed able to predict whether or not the young war-chief would leave the path marked out by his grandfather and Bismarck and aim at conquest. All fears were dispelled, however, by the visits of the emperor to the European capitals in 1888 and 1889 and his reiterated assertions in favor of peace. One shadow only disturbed the serenity of the view: the czar, who should have been the first to return William II.'s visit, delayed his coming until the German press, only too sensitive to a slight, began to assume a warlike attitude. In the meantime, on May 21, 1889, King Humbert came to Berlin and was royally welcomed. The people turned out *en masse*, and the city, with the exception of the French embassy, was brilliantly decorated. At the banquet on the 22d the emperor drank to the health of the king and the brave soldiers of Italy; and Humbert replied, "My soldiers for whom your majesty has such kindly words of appreciation, and your army whereof I have seen such a brilliant portion to-day, will know how to guarantee the peace of Europe." This visit, together with Crispien's meeting with Bismarck and Kálmoky at Friedrichsruh on October 2, 1887, confirmed the renewal of the triple alliance and seemed to complete the isolation of Russia and France. That Russia was aware of her position became evident when, shortly after Humbert's visit to Berlin, the czar toasted the Prince of Montenegro, then visiting St. Petersburg, as "the only sincere and loyal friend of Russia," at the same time appointing Prince Nicholas a Russian general and permitting the betrothal of the Imperial Grand Duke Peter and the Montenegrin Princess Militza. The czar's tardy visit to Berlin was made in October, but as de Giers was not present the meeting had no political importance.

During this time England's position was one of neutrality and reserve. In 1889, February 22, a cordial visit of the czar and his family to the British embassy in St. Petersburg seemed to show that the unpleasantness caused by the Merv and Penjdeh incidents had been dissipated. But the frontier question in Asia was a source of perpetual irritation and likely at any time to impair friendly relations. On the other hand, the relations between England and Germany seemed to grow steadily more cordial. During Bismarck's régime, friendship with Russia had been a cardinal point in the chancellor's creed, and, as we know, a treaty had been secretly signed with Russia in 1884, providing for a "benevolent neutrality" on the part of each. This treaty, the signing of which seemed almost like a betrayal of trust on Germany's part for Austria and Italy, was to have been renewed in 1890 for another six years; but on the eve of its renewal Bismarck was dismissed, Caprivi took his

place, and the pro-Russian policy gave way to one that was rather pro-English. Caprivi informed Count Schuvaloff, the Russian ambassador at Berlin, that Germany could no longer pursue such a complicated relationship as was involved in the two sets of treaties, and would confine herself to the triple alliance. This was not only a gentle rebuff to Russia, but also a cutting commentary on Bismarck's dexterous and clever, but not always scrupulous, system of diplomacy. William II.'s visit to England, August 9, 1889, had been characterized by unusual cordiality, in consequence of which there followed an Anglo-German agreement whereby Heligoland, seized by England at the time of the Continental blockade, was ceded to Germany in return for important concessions by Germany to England in East Africa. Heligoland had never been fortified by England, but its existence as a British possession just off the German coast had been the cause of considerable discontent to editorial writers of German newspapers. That the emperor and Caprivi were able to effect a bargain for the island when Bismarck had repeatedly failed disclosed either a greater friendliness between the two countries than had existed before, or else a final awakening on the part of England to the fact that the island was, after all, of little strategical importance. The agreement was signed on July 1, 1890, and by defining boundaries and transferring a considerable amount of territory to England, brought to an end a long period of colonial and commercial antagonism between the two countries.

The Salisbury policy, seen in the Anglo-German agreement, was continued in a convention with France respecting her rights in East Africa. The treaty with Germany had aroused the resentment of the French because in making it Lord Salisbury had overlooked a convention of 1862, according to which the independence of the Sultan of Zanzibar had been guaranteed to France. The matter was, however, arranged without difficulty by an agreement made on August 5, 1890, whereby Great Britain recognized the French protectorate over Madagascar in return for a French recognition of a British protectorate over Zanzibar. Scarcely was the convention agreed to when Lord Salisbury announced the settlement on August 20 of the long-debated and bitterly contested colonial dispute with Portugal. But the Portuguese Parliament refused to ratify the settlement, both Progressists and Republicans making common cause against it on the ground that it was too unfavorable to Portugal. The final agreement was reached June 11, 1891, England making some important concessions. In the meantime Lord Salisbury had endeavored to reach an amicable settlement with Italy whereby the boundary between her protectorate of Abyssinia and that of England

over Egypt might be determined; but the negotiations failed, owing to the inability at that time to agree regarding the disposition of the town of Kassala. They were, however, renewed in 1891, and in March of that year England consented to the military occupation of Kassala by the Italians. In the same year the old question, which for two centuries and more had agitated England and France—the Newfoundland fisheries with their concomitant lobster-catching—was submitted to arbitration. The Newfoundlanders claimed that the rights of catching and curing fish on the “French shore” conceded to France by the treaty of Utrecht did not and could not include the privilege of taking lobsters and of setting up canning establishments. The larger question of French rights in Newfoundland was not, however, so easily settled, and it was not until 1904 that a compromise was arranged whereby France resigned most of her claims in return for concessions made by England in West Africa and Morocco. These various settlements, followed by an ample apology from Russia in February, 1892, for the treatment of Captain Younghusband and Lieutenant Davidson in the Little Pamir, closed a remarkable eighteen months of amicable diplomacy.

Thus in 1891 and 1892 the European outlook was pacific, even, as Lord Salisbury said, to the point of dullness. But at the same time the relations of the powers were becoming more sharply defined. The triple alliance had been renewed in 1892, and England by her colonial conventions and pacts, often accompanied with sharp practice based on the conviction that colonial possessions were to the lesser states an evil and a drain, had assumed a position of strict neutrality. But in France the renewal of the triple alliance had stirred up among the Chauvinistic class a thought of revenge. A visit by the Empress Frederick to Paris followed by excursions to St. Cloud and Versailles, places associated with bitter memories of the war of 1870, led to demonstrations by the League of the Patriots of such a disgraceful character that William II. was deeply offended, and at once, greatly to the annoyance of travellers, made more stringent the passport regulations in Alsace and Lorraine. Though the nuisance was eventually abated by the German government, it gave rise to angry comments in France and led to interpellations in the Chamber of Deputies.

These events only served to emphasize the first appearance of an understanding between France and Russia, the earliest outward indication of the *rapprochement* known as the dual alliance, the beginnings of which may be traced as far back as the years following the war of 1870, when Gortchakoff and other Russian statesmen believed that a

powerful France was necessary for the maintenance of the equilibrium in Europe. It was this sentiment that is supposed to have underlain the intervention of the czar in 1875. The events following the congress of Berlin, the formation of the triple alliance, the apparent union after 1885 of Austria and Germany with regard to Eastern affairs, tended to alienate Russia from Germany; but old traditions were difficult to overcome, and it was not until 1889 and 1890 that the two governments began to respond to what appeared to be the sentiments of their peoples. In 1889 and 1891 Russian loans were taken up eagerly by French subscribers, and by sundry acts, administrative and the like, the French ministries showed their good-will for Russia. A small difficulty arose in 1889, when the Cossack Atchinoff and a number of Russian adventurers seized the fort of Sagallo in the French colony of Obok, acquired in 1862, on the Red Sea. The French General Olry bombarded the fort and killed five or six men. This incident caused considerable excitement, but did not disturb the relations between the two governments. On July 23, 1891, the French fleet visited Cronstadt and was received by the Russians with joyous enthusiasm as unexpected as it was intoxicating to the French. Demonstrations, fêtes, and unstinted hospitalities of a lesser kind followed one another without end. In St. Petersburg and Moscow the French officers and sailors received ovation after ovation, all of which Admiral Gervais accepted in the name of France. Telegrams were exchanged between the czar and President Carnot, the former of whom spoke of the presence of the fleet as a "new proof of the deep sympathy" which united France and Russia, and the czar expressed himself as "happy to recognize in the reception an eloquent proof of the deep sympathies uniting France and Russia." German diplomats affected to find hollowness in the whole affair and laughed to scorn the idea that any political importance would follow therefrom, a kind of comment that increased when it became known that Russia had contracted a large loan in France. The whole affair for the moment seemed to presage financial war between Russia on one side and England and Germany on the other; but as subsequent events were to show, the friendly relations between Russia and France were based on other grounds than those of finance.

Notwithstanding frequent reports of the waning of this *entente* the Russian fleet visited Toulon on a return visit, October 13, 1893, under Admiral Avellan. In Toulon and in Paris the festivities and decorations were unexampled for splendor and profuseness. The French populace ran riot in their enthusiasm, threw themselves boisterously into the gaieties, and indulged themselves with an extravagance unusual even in

France. This was due of course to the presence of the Russians and the thought of a Russian alliance, but it was also due to the fact that only a month before this the German emperor, with the Crown Prince of Italy and the German princes, had been present at the army manoeuvres in Alsace and Lorraine. In territory that had once belonged to France, William II. had celebrated the anniversary of the battle of Sedan, had visited Metz and Strassburg, and had said to the people of Lorraine, "German you are and German you will remain, so help me God and our German sword." It was partly as a counter-demonstration to this that the Toulon and Paris celebrations, symbolical of the restoration of France to a place of importance among the nations, were so excessively enthusiastic. It was, however, a demonstration in the interest of peace. The telegram of the czar spoke of the festivities as adding "a fresh link to those already uniting the two countries," and as certain "to contribute to the general peace—the object of their efforts and of their most constant wishes," while Carnot in reply referred to the "sincere sympathies uniting the two countries—two great nations devoted to the cause of peace." Germans persisted in viewing the scene as a comedy, declaring that France and Russia had no solid bond of union except hatred of Germany, and that the czar had no other use for France than "to dip his hands into her well-filled coffers." But they forgot that Russia had been in isolation from the time when the triple alliance had taken the place of the Dreikaiserbund, and particularly since 1890, when Caprivi had reversed the policy of Bismarck. They forgot, too, in their constant dwelling upon the French desire for revenge, that France had equal cause to fear Germany, and that if Germany could find her excuse for war in the fanatical outbursts of Clericals, Ultra-Conservatives, and Nationalists of the Déroulède type, France could find hers in the bellicose remarks of the Galliphobe newspapers and the constant additions made to the German army. To France the *entente* with Russia not only marked the formal closing of a period of isolation and consequent weakness for France, through which she had passed since 1870, but it gave her a support that reassured her in the face of the triple alliance and the army manoeuvres on the German frontier, which, whether rightly or wrongly, she had looked upon as a menace.

While thus a dual alliance of France and Russia was forming as an offset to the triple alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy, England was showing herself interested in another aspect of European diplomacy. The balance of power on land was to her largely of theoretical interest, but the balance of power at sea was a matter of enormous significance. The presence of the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean had a special

bearing on the question of maritime predominance, and at the time of the Toulon demonstration England had despatched Admiral M. Culme-Seymour to Taranto, where the British squadron had taken part in the Italian manoeuvres and the British soldiers and sailors had been heartily and enthusiastically welcomed by the Italians. This event, so far as it had a larger purpose than an expression of good-will for Italy, was an affirmation of England's supremacy in the Mediterranean, upon the maintenance of which the unity of her empire depended. But in the meeting at Taranto both England and Italy carefully avoided any suggestion of a reply to the Franco-Russian celebration.

In the year 1893 everywhere the cry was for peace. The triple and the dual alliances were organized apparently for no other purpose than the maintenance of peace, and not for years had the outlook been so bright as in 1894. The peace was an armed one, it is true, for Germany continued to increase the numbers of her army, and the other powers, in order to keep pace with her, were doing the same. Europe, though peaceful, seemed to be "as one vast camp undermined by explosives." The burden was heavy, and European finances were in a disastrous condition; France had a debt of nearly forty milliards of francs, and other states likewise were crushed under the weight. Yet when one state increased the army and navy, the other states did likewise. In other respects the tendencies were pacific, making for greater solidarity. The tariff treaties were steadily increasing in number: that between Russia and Germany was signed on February 5, 1894, and a Franco-German agreement, relating to the Hinterland of Kamerun, was signed in March.

The old European concert, organized in the days of Metternich for the preservation of European peace against revolutionary movements, no longer existed. The Crimean war, the founding of the German empire, and the diplomacy of the congress of Berlin had wrought strange changes. Instead of the maritime states standing together as the champions of liberalism against Russia, Austria, and Prussia, a new combination had been formed. Central Europe was banded together in a triple league for the maintenance of peace, while a dual alliance, equally pacific, of France and Russia completed the continental arrangement. Thus England was left isolated, standing apart as the head of a great maritime empire, the exponent of free trade and the open-door policy, and, with her colonies, her shipping, her navy, her commerce, and her prestige, facing the two groups of the protectionist powers, herself the first power in the colonial and commercial world. Thus while the continental states were arranged in two groups for reasons that had to

do strictly with continental matters, three of the states, France, Russia, and Germany, almost unconsciously, though fully realizing the unity of their interests, were opposing England in the larger field of trade, commerce, and colonies. They were one in denouncing British territorial greed, and in wishing to extend their own colonial empires, and to have their own fair share of the world's markets. For a quarter of a century a movement had been preparing that was to shift the centre of European diplomacy. For a decade this diplomacy had been determined by colonial crises, by questions of boundaries and spheres of influence. The peace of Europe seemed assured, but the question that lay uppermost in men's minds was whether the peaceful purposes of the triple and dual alliances might not come to naught owing to the insolubility of problems arising in the world outside of Europe. Such a catastrophe it was Europe's anxious care to avert.



FIG. 65. Marquis Ito.

Thus far England had been in alliance with none of the powers, although her policy since 1890 had been to assume a friendly attitude toward the triple alliance. But she had been entirely unwilling to commit herself to that alliance by formal treaty, and her position had undoubtedly roused some resentment in Germany. Almost the earliest indication of the isolation of England in the sense already noted appeared after the war between China and Japan had been terminated by the peace of Shimonoseki, signed by Li Hung Chang for China and Marquis Ito (Fig. 65) for Japan on April 17, 1895, when the German, French, and Russian envoys entered a protest against the terms of the treaty which stipulated for the annexation to Japan of Chinese terri-

tory on the continent of Asia. England having construed the formation of this "unholy triple alliance," as the Japanese deemed it, as a diplomatic victory for Russia, declined to enter the combination, and by so doing thoroughly displeased Prince Lobanoff (Fig. 66), the instigator of this Eastern policy. England, however, semi-officially advised Japan to accede to the demands of the allies. On May 6 Japan yielded and renounced the possession of Liao-tung peninsula, including Port Arthur, but at the same time, feeling that she had suffered a gross injustice at the hands of the three powers, drew nearer to England and the United States. In March, 1895, England's relations with Russia became some-



FIG. 66.—Prince Lobanoff.

what more friendly, at least officially, when an agreement was reached with regard to the spheres of influence of the two countries in the region of the Pamirs. But notwithstanding this and other evidences of harmony, the people and the press of Russia, as of Germany, were not kindly disposed toward England, a fact that became evident in the winter of 1895 and 1896, when difficulty arose in the Transvaal.

In December, 1895, prominent Uitlanders or foreigners, living in Johannesburg in the government of the Transvaal, feeling aggrieved at not receiving equal political and civil rights with the Boers under the Boer government and thinking themselves in danger, conspired against the Boer government and sought the aid of the British South African

Company. Dr. L. S. Jameson, administrator of the company's territory and the conqueror of the Matabeles, started for Johannesburg with a body of mounted police, and, despite commands from Cape Town and London, refused to turn back. On January 2, 1896, he was surrounded by the Boers and forced to surrender, and this humiliating termination of what many believed to be an offensive act of aggression on England's part gave joy everywhere to England's enemies. The German emperor telegraphed at once to President Kruger: "I express to you my sincere congratulations that without appealing to the help of friendly powers you and your people have succeeded in repelling with your own forces the armed bands which had broken into your country, and in maintaining the independence of your country against foreign aggression." This message, which represented the sentiments of the German people, waked great wrath in England, but was received with satisfaction both in Paris and St. Petersburg, where it was evident that popular feeling was on the side of the Boers. The fact that Jameson's act was in no way authorized by the British government made no difference, for the general comment on the continent was that, had Jameson succeeded, England would not have hesitated to profit by the situation, and that her attitude of innocence was but a pretence. Happily, as far as international relations were concerned, the incident passed without further consequences; but it was important in that it disclosed the feeling of France, Germany, and Russia for England, and must be reckoned as one of the immediate causes of the Boer war.

Under these circumstances, and inasmuch as the inevitable course of events was bringing the great republic of the United States more and more into international prominence, it was natural that England should be glad of at least the moral support of her great neighbor in the west. But there, too, her general colonial policy had not met with favor, and when England seemed to be employing methods in South America similar to those used in South Africa, the friendly relations existing between the two powers were imperilled. In 1895 a controversy arose between Great Britain and the United States over the question of the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana. In March of that year President Cleveland signed a joint resolution of Congress earnestly recommending that the boundary question be referred to a board of arbitration. In July a note was despatched to the American ambassador at London, setting forth the attitude of the United States and asking the British government for a definite answer to the question whether it would or would not submit the controversy to impartial arbitration. The reply of Great Britain, received in December, was a categorical rejection of the

request of the United States and a virtual denial of the applicability of the Monroe Doctrine. In his message of December 17 Cleveland took higher ground, combating England's assertion that the United States had no right to interfere and recommending that a commission be appointed to investigate the subject in order to determine how far England was justified in the demands that she had made of Venezuela. "When the report of this commission is made and accepted," said the message, "it will be, in my opinion, the duty of the United States to resist by every means in its power, as a wilful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory which after investigation we have determined of right belongs to Venezuela." Both this message and Secretary Olney's despatch sent on the 20th of the preceding July had a distinctly warlike sound, and during the month of December the excitement in the United States was considerable and the feeling against England decidedly strong. The position of the United States, taken on the assumption that her peace was threatened, and that the Monroe Doctrine was still valid, because it was an accepted principle of international law, was untenable; but the wave of Jingoism was due to an opinion, widely prevalent, that England would bully any small state if her interests demanded it. The difficulty proved to be of less consequence than was feared; for the commission which was duly appointed proceeded with its work, and in the end Lord Salisbury, aware that the territory was certainly not worth fighting about, agreed to submit the matter to arbitration. In his Guildhall speech of November 9, 1896, he was able to announce that the controversy was at an end. The award of the board sitting in Paris was finally rendered on October 3, 1899, ex-President Harrison, of the United States, presenting the case for Venezuela and Sir Richard Webster (afterward Lord Alverston) for England. Great Britain received nearly all that she had claimed, and thus was ended a dispute between England and Venezuela that had lasted for fifty years.

In 1896 the understanding between Russia and France received a new confirmation. After their coronation, the czar and czarina made the customary tour of friendly visits, starting on August 25 for Vienna. There the visit was regarded as having a distinctly political character, cementing the relations between Russia and Austria and possibly having some bearing on the future of the Ottoman empire. From Vienna the royal pair journeyed to Copenhagen, and from there passed on to England, where the visit was known to have a purely personal object. But the climax of the tour came when Nicholas II. crossed the Channel and

entered France. Then was renewed the wild, unstrained enthusiasm which had greeted the Russian fleet in 1893 and which signified how much it meant to France that a crowned sovereign should have just visited the republic officially and removed from it the stigma of weakness and isolation. No word signifying alliance had as yet been spoken, but the *entente* seemed complete. The czar spoke of "the precious bonds" that united the two countries; and the greatest joy was felt throughout France when at a luncheon at Châlons he spoke of "the profound sentiment of brotherhood-in-arms." The *entente* was undoubtedly to have, as President Faure said, "a beneficent action on the peace of the world," but the most striking result of the czar's visit was wholly unexpected. On October 27, Bismarck took occasion to publish in the *Hamburger Nachrichten* an account of the secret Germano-Russian treaty of 1884, which, though it had lasted for six years until 1890 and had provided for the "benevolent neutrality" of each of the two participating states whenever they should be attacked by a third power, had never been communicated to the other powers. This treaty should have been renewed in 1890; but just at that juncture Bismarck had been dismissed, Caprivi had become chancellor, and a new foreign policy of friendliness toward England had been introduced. Bismarck's object in revealing this secret alliance was to make an emphatic protest against the German diplomacy that had thus driven Russia, the traditional friend of Germany and Prussia, into the arms of France, and to show how much more powerful had been Germany's position when he had arranged her foreign relations. Bismarck had never forgiven England for her hostility to Prussia in 1863, and the Germans had always believed that England had sold arms to France in 1870. So ready were the Bismarckians to charge England with pusillanimity in her relations with the larger states and brutality in her dealings with the smaller, that they could not tolerate an official policy on the part of their own government that had resulted in driving their old ally in the "league of the three emperors" over to the side of France.

With the dual alliance England could not be on terms of close intimacy owing to her continued occupation of Egypt. Ever since 1882 both France and Russia had repeatedly asked England when she meant to withdraw. After the revolution of Arabi Pasha had been suppressed and Arabi and his associates had been sent to Cydonia, Gladstone had said, rather injudiciously, that the occupation of Egypt would be maintained only until order and good government should be secured. And at that time no prolonged stay was contemplated. But as consequence of England did not withdraw, and when asked for reasons pointed to the

benefit of her rule, to the prosperity and contentment of the Egyptians, to the inexperience of the young Khedive, and above all to the disturbed state of the Sudan and the need of military operations there. Frequently had suggestions of withdrawal been made at home, but England officially refused to consider the proposition; and in consequence by 1896 and 1897 the press of France and Russia and even of Germany had become unusually dictatorial, demanding England's retirement and declaring that the greatest obstacle to an harmonious union of the powers was her retention—in spite of the opposition of Europe—of Cyprus, Egypt, and the Suez Canal. And France, notwithstanding the fact that the Italian, German, and Congo governments had accepted England's position, resented England's further claim that the whole of the Upper Nile basin was within her sphere of influence. There can be little doubt that whatever were the advantages accruing to her or to Egypt from this veiled protectorate, or however firm Imperialists were in their conviction that her position was wholly justifiable, her continued occupation of Egypt increased during the years from 1895 to 1897 the distrust and hostility of the other great powers and weakened the common accord; and there is further reason to believe that during these important years traditional dislike, trade jealousy, colonial rivalry and envy were helping to range the three chief European powers in a group against England, and were endangering the efficiency of the European concert.

Such was the situation when the Armenian massacres attracted the attention of the civilized world. The Armenian difficulty was an old one, and an attempt had been made at the congress of Berlin, in 1878, to compel the Porte to improve conditions for the Christians, and to guarantee their protection from the attacks of Circassians and Kurds. England herself had, in the Cyprus convention of the same year, solemnly stipulated that the Christians should be protected, and stood, therefore, under a special bond to carry out her promises or else to give up the island. And the French and Russian press were not slow to remind her of this fact. When between 1878 and 1892 a hope of national autonomy had arisen among the Armenians and a revolutionary propaganda had stirred up the Turkish officials, rumors of persecutions and atrocities, many of them grossly exaggerated, got abroad. Matters, however, came to a climax with the Sassun massacre of 1894, in which it was estimated that thirty villages were laid waste and not less than 6000 Armenians butchered. A wave of indignation passed over the western countries, and a commission was appointed, consisting of the dragomans of the British, French, and Russian con-

sulates at Erzerum, which began its investigation at Mush, near Lake Van. On May 11, 1895, a scheme of reforms was drawn up by the British, French, and Russian ambassadors, which, having been approved by their respective governments, was presented to the sultan. The Porte at first demurred at the interference of the powers, but finally accepted the reforms "in principle." The British government was not, however, satisfied with the position taken by the sultan, and in September, 1895, Lord Salisbury proposed that the powers take coercive measures, with the understanding that any power not co-operating should avoid interfering with the action of the others. Austria and Italy assented; Germany agreed, with the proviso that assent be unanimous; but Russia refused, agreeing to adopt coercive measures only in case the sultan neglected to carry out the reforms, a position in which she was supported by France. Thus it became evident that Russia was opposed to intervention, and that England was in favor of it—the reverse of the situation of 1877. Prince Lobanoff declared that intervention was contrary to the treaty of Paris, and that the powers could do nothing but assist the Porte to introduce the reforms without bringing pressure to bear upon it. Russia, not wishing to encourage the Armenians, half of whom were her own subjects, and deliberately opposed to any concerted action that might open up the Eastern question in its worst form, demanded the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman empire. During a visit of the czar to Vienna in 1897 a verbal understanding was reached that nothing happening in the Balkans should disturb the friendly relations existing between Austria and Russia, for Lobanoff desired a bloodless solution of the Eastern problem. Beyond the introduction of compulsory reforms, he would not go; and Russia was supported in her opinion by Austria, Germany, and France. Thus the lines within the European concert were drawn not by the conditions that had led to the formation of the dual and triple alliances, but by those larger world interests that had already tended to isolate England among the powers. In his Guildhall speech of November 9, 1896, Lord Salisbury could say that England would adhere to the European concert, but that as the veto of any one power meant that the concert could not act, nothing could be done in the present crisis. He said further that to separate from the concert and act in isolation would be to threaten war; and for this England was unprepared, inasmuch as her strength lay in her navy, and no fleet in the world could "get over the mountains of Taurus to protect the Armenians." Nothing further was done beyond the giving of friendly advice, which the sultan consistently disregarded. The treaty of Paris,

Russia's peace policy, Germany's colonial and commercial ambitions, and French hostility to England and loyalty to the dual alliance combined to make possible the spoiling of the Armenians.

That the concert was not wholly inefficient, but could act in smaller matters when so doing would not disturb the general peace, was evident from its attitude toward Greece and Crete in 1896 and 1897. In June, 1896, the uprising of the Cretans, who had been aided by arms, ammunition, and volunteers from Greece, had assumed such proportions that the powers finally interfered, demanding of Turkey the immediate convocation of the Cretan assembly, an amnesty to the insurgents, and the appointment of a Christian governor. These reforms were partly carried



FIG. 67.—Count Goluchowski.

out: a Christian governor was appointed, and the Cretan assembly convened in July. But in the consideration of further reforms so much delay was experienced that the insurrection continued to spread, and public opinion in Greece became inflamed because of the procrastination and apparent duplicity of the Porte. In July, 1896, Count Goluchowski (Fig. 67) declared that the integrity and liberty of Turkey must be preserved, and Greece be warned against sending further aid to Crete; and he proposed that in case the Greek government proved powerless to restrain Greek filibusters, Crete should be blockaded by the powers. Lord Salisbury refused to accede to this proposal, and announced that the British government was unwilling to uphold the cause of Turkey as against the Christian Cretans, a declaration which brought down upon

him the wrath of the German newspaper press. For the moment the plan of a blockade fell through. But the continuance of the rebellion, the recurrence of conflicts between Christians and Mussulmans, the failure of the reforms of the gendarmerie and the finances to effect any permanent results drove Greece to the point of action. In February, King George issued an official proclamation in favor of the rescue of the island from Turkey and its annexation to Greece; in other words, he announced that Greece had made up her mind to effect the dismemberment of Turkey in the face of the express declaration of the powers that Turkish integrity must be maintained for the sake of European peace. This action of the Greek government drove Lord Salisbury over to the side of the other powers, for, aware that Greek contumacy would hinder the settlement of the Cretan question by peaceful means, he was obliged to admit the necessity of coercing Greece, however much such an act might offend the sentimentalists and seem to be a blow at liberty. Consequently, Cretan harbors were blockaded and Greek troops that had landed under General Vassos were bombarded at Canea, an effective measure which was severely criticised in the west, but which was necessary if the plans of the powers were to be carried out. The terms drawn up by the powers provided that the Cretans should have autonomy under the direct guidance of the European concert; that Greece should withdraw absolutely from Crete, and that Turkey should not only withdraw, but should agree to the scheme which the powers were to draft.

Greece, disillusioned, found herself in March at war with Turkey; and before the end of May she had been badly defeated and confronted with Turkey's terms of peace—a war indemnity of \$50,000,000, the cession of Thessaly, and the revision of the Greek capitulations, whereby through concessions of the Ottoman government, made to all foreigners, the Greeks residing in Turkey had been wont to enjoy special privileges exempting them from many of the requirements of Ottoman law. But the powers, not willing to see Greece crippled by Turkey's heavy demands, immediately despatched a collective note to the Porte. The preliminary treaty of peace was signed September 18, 1897, and the definitive treaty in December. The powers saved Greece more than half the indemnity demanded, reduced to a minimum the territory ceded, compelled Turkey to evacuate Thessaly within a month after the indemnity loan had been negotiated, and in other particulars made the situation easier for Greece. The question of a European governor for Crete took months of discussion. Finally, in March, 1898, Prince George of Greece was proposed, and, after long opposition on the part of Turkey and Germany, the latter of whom was showing herself at this time amaz-

ing friendly to the sultan, was named as supreme commissioner of Crete. He accepted the nomination in December, 1898; and in January, 1899, the joint control of the island, which had been in the hands of the admirals of the collective fleets, was given up, and Cretan autonomy became an assured fact. A new constitution was drafted and adopted in March, 1899; Prince George proved to be a tactful and efficient governor, and for almost the first time since 1868 civil government and peace reigned in the island.

In the meantime the two European alliances were apparently growing stronger, and the peace of Europe was becoming more than ever assured. In May, 1897, the triple alliance had renewed itself automatically for a period of six years, beginning with May 6, 1898; for according to the arrangement entered into in 1892, a renewal was to be effected

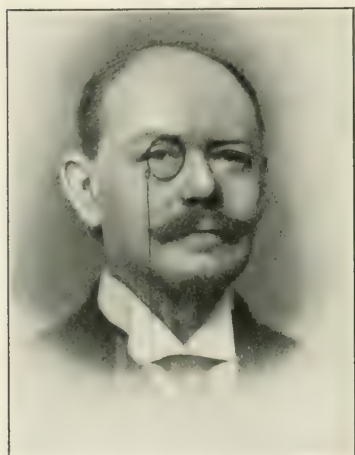


FIG. 68.—Count Muravieff.

unless one of the contracting parties should give a year's notice of an intention to withdraw. About the same time the reaffirmation of the dual understanding between France and Russia took place. In January, 1897, Count Muravieff (Fig. 68), the successor of Lobanoff, visited Paris, and resumed, it is supposed, negotiations leading to a definite alliance, an interpretation of the visit which received an apparent confirmation in the visit of President Faure to St. Petersburg in August. During his visit the two rulers referred to the "two friendly and allied nations," words which seemed to signify that the two countries

were allies in 1897 if not before. This state of affairs, taken in conjunction with the peaceful settlement of the Cretan question and the repeated assertions of all the powers that their diplomatic efforts were always in the interest of peace, made it certain that the concert would sacrifice a great deal of sentiment regarding liberty and the oppressed before it would allow the peace to be broken. Its attitude in the Armenian and Cretan crises showed that its policy was largely one of negation, a fact which did not augur favorably for an aggressive activity in the future. Less political in character, but of considerable economic importance, was the understanding arrived at by representatives of most of the powers in 1902 in regard to sugar bounties. By this agreement, known as the Brussels Sugar Convention, all bounties on sugar

were abolished by the states agreeing to the treaty, and the import duty reduced to a very low rate, while heavy countervailing duties were imposed on sugar from those states which continued to grant bounties.

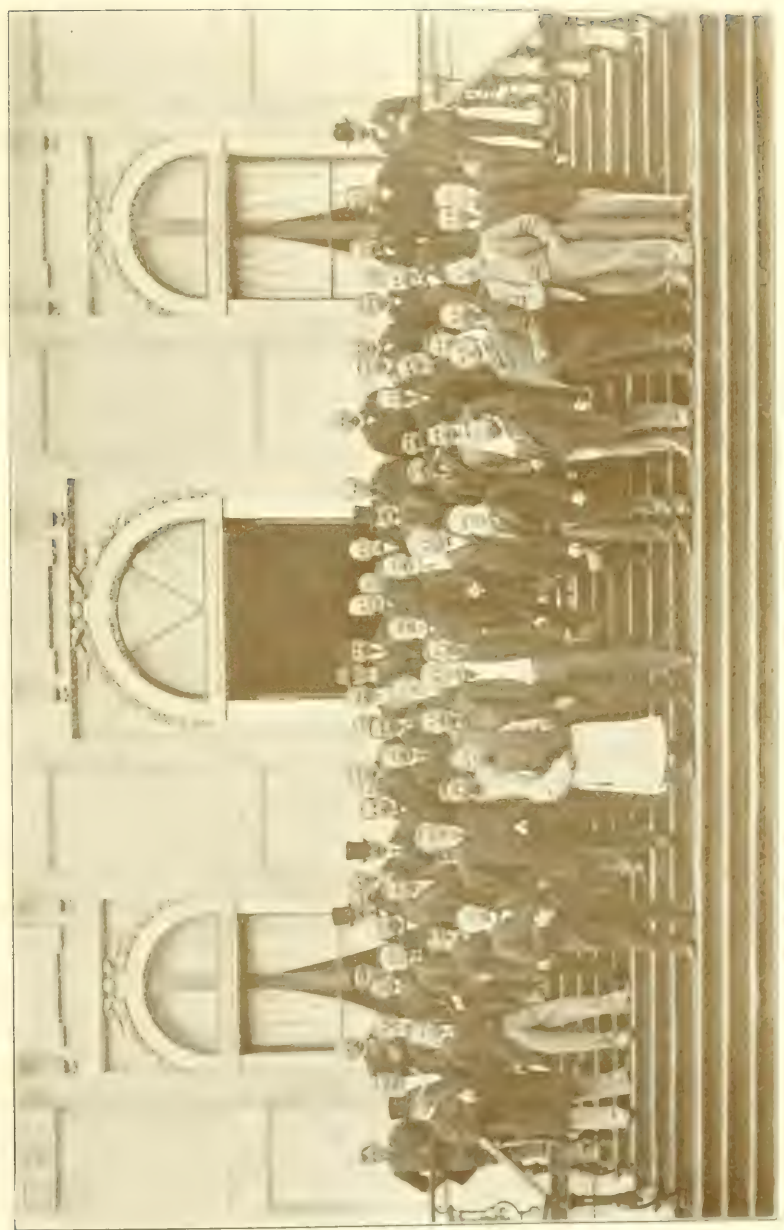
But serious questions were still to confront the powers. In 1896 Lord Salisbury had said that the British government did not purpose relinquishing a single acre which England at that moment occupied. He had in mind the constantly renewed demands for the evacuation of Egypt, and still more, the desire of France for territory which England claimed to be within her sphere of influence. The regions in question lay about the upper waters of the Niger and the Nile, and the controversy, which had begun a decade before, had for the moment been terminated by a treaty with France in August, 1893, which had defined the Niger spheres, and by treaties with Italy in March, 1891, and Germany in 1890 and 1893, which had delimited the protectorate of British East Africa. But France, supported by Russia, had refused to agree to this British protectorate and had asserted her right of entering the Upper Nile valley. Therefore in 1897 and 1898, when Captain Marchand, setting out from Loango, July 23, 1896, pushed inward from Brazzaville, occupied the Bahr-el-Ghazal, and proceeded down the Nile to Fashoda, which he entered on July 12, 1898, a collision between the two countries nearly occurred. England, after the defeat of the dervishes by Kitchener at Omdurman, September 2, 1898, took such high ground as regards the British right to the territory that there was nothing left to France but to withdraw or declare war. Acting under pressure from Russia, who wished to keep France at peace, she finally decided, after a period of suspense, not to retain the Marchand mission at Fashoda, a decision that greatly irritated the French people. Germans and Russians, too, if one may judge from the sentiments of the press, were loud in their denunciation of England, who seemed determined to prevent at any cost a belting of Africa by any of the powers.

The closing years of the nineteenth century were marked by a steady increase of armaments, enormous appropriations for armies and navies, and a consequent swelling of indebtedness and diversion of wealth and energy into unproductive channels. On the other hand, a significant step in the other direction was taken when in August, 1898, Nicholas II. proposed an international conference to discuss plans for the preservation of peace. Much incredulity was expressed, and in many quarters the project was regarded as altogether chimerical. Nevertheless the powers, large and small, accepted the invitation sent out by the government of the Netherlands to send representatives to the Hague on the basis of the Russian proposal. Altogether twenty-

one European and six non-European states, the United States, Mexico, Siam, Persia, China, and Japan, were represented. The Vatican, because of Italy's protest, was excluded. The conference (PLATE VI.) assembled at the Hague, May 18, 1899, and was the largest and most distinguished international body that had ever gathered for the discussion of strictly international questions; and so far as its purpose was concerned, it was the most remarkable body that had ever met in the history of the world. After over two months a final act embodying three conventions, three declarations, and a series of five resolutions was drawn up and adopted on July 29, 1899. Its most important provision was the establishment of a permanent court of arbitration. The representatives of sixteen nations signed the convention providing for the organization of the court, and by April, 1901, all the powers except Luxemburg, China, and Turkey gave their sanction to the project. The conference took no step looking to the reduction of armaments, yet the discussions and the conventions on the peaceable settlement of international disputes, the laws and customs of war on land, and the humane regulation of warfare in the use of projectiles and bullets, marked a real step in progress toward international agreement, at least in smaller things. The actual establishment of a permanent court of arbitration gave practical form to what had been considered by many a dream; and it was a significant act, even though in application it might in the future prove at times ineffectual. The steps taken by many of the states to increase their military and naval strength at the very time of the Congress seemed to render its object more than ever impracticable, but subsequent events have gone far to dispel this idea. Since 1899 the world has, it is true, witnessed two of the greatest military struggles in its history, but it has also seen the peaceful solution by arbitration of scores of international difficulties; and what is more to the point from the standpoint of the Hague Conference, the opening of the new century has been marked by a long series of arbitration treaties. Noteworthy among these is the Anglo-French treaty of October, 1903, by which these powers agree that disputes of a juridical nature, or such as relate to the interpretation of treaties, should be referred to the Hague tribunal, and the treaty in February, 1904, between Holland and Denmark, making no limitation as to questions that might be referred to the court at the Hague.

After the Hague conference the relations between Great Britain and Germany grew distinctly more cordial. On October 28, 1899, concessions were made by Germany to the African Transcontinental Telegraph Company regarding the carrying of the Cape-to-Cairo telegraph line through German East Africa. On November 14, 1899, an Anglo-

PLATE VI.



The Hague Conference.

Printed by G. S. Stevens & Co., New York.

German agreement resulted in Great Britain's renouncing all her rights in the Samoan Islands, and in Germany's renouncing on her side all her claims to the Tonga and Savage Islands, ceding the two eastern Solomon islands, Choiseul and Isabel, and the Howe Islands, giving up all extra-territorial rights in Zanzibar, and at last agreeing to the delimiting of the boundary between German Togoland and the British Gold Coast colony, which had been for a long time undetermined. This arrangement, so far as it dealt with the surrender to Germany of Upolu and Savaii of the Samoan group, gave offence to the Australasian colonies, who deemed it an unfriendly act on Germany's part, and on the side of Great Britain an unfortunate concession made during the crisis of the Boer war as the price of Germany's neutrality. However that may be, it is certain that the people in England did not share this bitterness of feeling. During the war in South Africa, Germany's neutrality was strictly preserved by the government notwithstanding the seizure of contraband in German vessels in Delagoa Bay, and the fact that the German people were generally in sympathy with the Boers. In the Reichstag, Richter, a determined upholder of the Caprivi system of commercial treaties, came out strongly on the side of England in a speech in December, 1899, in defence of the pending negotiations for a commercial treaty with that country.

So far as outward evidence was concerned, this reciprocity of feeling on the part of the governments and diplomats of England and Germany suffered no abatement during the years immediately after. The Anglo-German agreement of 1900, upholding mutual advantages in China, and the armed intervention, jointly with Italy, of the two governments in the collection of their claims against Venezuela in 1902 and 1903, confirmed the official friendliness. But such indications were rather part of a governmental policy than an expression of popular sympathies, for between the peoples themselves no *entente cordiale* can be said to have existed. In truth, in the past England and Germany had only drawn together when circumstances demanded it, and now that Germany had freed herself from the dominion of English commerce and manufactures, an understanding was bound to be one of diplomacy and not of common interests or mutual inclination. Mistress of the commercial world for two centuries, guardian of an empire which had in the last fifteen years surpassed even Russia in the extent of newly acquired territory, England could but be unfriendly to all states that were threatening her old-time supremacy, or endangering the connections between the different parts of her widely scattered territories. With Russia the enmity was born partly of tradition and partly

from a sentiment of actual danger; for in Persia, India, and China, Russian advancement assumed serious proportions to British eyes. Supporting and supported by France, another traditional enemy, Russia became doubly a menace, for with France as with Germany, the rivalry was commercial and colonial in Africa, Asia, and the South Seas, and in those old fields of trade in Europe and South America, where the Germans in particular were entering territories formerly controlled by British traders. Even with the United States the rivalry existed, notwithstanding the blood-connection, for that great republic was rapidly becoming the greatest industrial state in the world, and on account of her commercial needs inevitably a world power, competing successfully with England in all parts of the earth.

That these rivalries, whether commercial or colonial in character, need not be essentially unfriendly and inimical to peace was strikingly shown in the cordial relations between England and France, following an interchange of visits by the rulers in 1903, and culminating in the Anglo-French colonial settlement of April, 1904. By this agreement France withdrew all opposition to Great Britain's continued occupation of Egypt, and gave up her right to cure and dry fish on the coast of Newfoundland, retaining, however, certain rights to take fish in common with British subjects, in return for the recognition of her paramount rights of France in Morocco, and certain concessions regarding boundary and other matters in West Africa. Other parts of the treaty arranged minor difficulties relating to Siam, the New Hebrides, and Madagascar. With reference to Russian rivalry on the other hand Great Britain proved herself much less conciliatory, the Anglo-Japanese alliance being manifestly arranged with that power in mind. This treaty, which was signed in January, 1902, besides pledging the two powers to the maintenance of the integrity of China and Korea, provided for armed co-operation should either ally become involved in a war with two powers. The same uncompromising attitude against Russia appeared in the remarkable announcement by Lord Lansdowne, in 1903, of a "British Monroe Doctrine" for the Persian Gulf, and in England's aggressive policy in Tibet. During the Russo-Japanese war the firm insistence upon the inviolability of the treaty of Paris with regard to the Dardanelles, the reckless seizures of British ships by Russia, her extreme position regarding coal and foodstuffs as contraband of war, and the Dogger Bank affair, all served rather to intensify the antagonism.

For Germany, the leading state on the European continent, it was a matter of necessity to maintain peaceful relations with all. Head of the triple alliance, a purely European union, yet at the same time a world

power with a world policy, she was forced to consider a dual set of problems. As guardian of Central Europe and the ally of Austria, whose integrity was vitally necessary to herself and to the peace of Europe, her interest in the Balkans and the Ottoman empire made her the rival of Russia, and of old she was the enemy of France. But time had wrought beneficent changes: William II.'s zeal for the Paris Exposition, the co-operation of French and Germans in Chinese punitive expeditions, the visit of General Bonnal to Berlin, when for the first time since 1870 German and French flags were seen together in that city, showed the new cordiality. With Russia, relations were equally friendly. Though momentarily offending that power in protesting against the Manchurian convention with China, Germany made it plain that she would not oppose Russia in Manchuria. In July, 1904, the renewal of a commercial treaty between the two countries, which had involved serious difficulties, because Russia refused to negotiate on the basis of the new German tariff and the minimum rate on grain, was finally arranged, the new treaty to remain in force for twelve years. During the war with Japan, Germany in unofficial ways repeatedly revealed her sympathy for her great neighbor.

In 1902 the triple alliance was renewed, but the death of Crispi, its Italian champion, the year before, and the renewal of friendly relations with France, greatly diminished the value and popularity of the alliance in Italy, while that country's rivalry with Austria in Trieste and Albania seriously strained the friendly relations between the two states. Besides, Austria had no colonial interests, while those of Italy were comparatively few. The dual alliance, because available for world policy purposes, seemed the stronger and more efficient of the two. France had not been diplomatically so strong for thirty years as in 1904; on terms of friendship with Germany and Italy, with ties binding her firmly to Russia, and up to the war in the East, supporting that country's policy in China and receiving Russia's support in that empire, in Africa, and the Red Sea; with all matters of dispute ended by the treaties with England, and on the most amicable terms with her, she had again assumed a leading place in European diplomacy.

In southeastern Europe a new grouping of the smaller powers had taken place. Serbia and Bulgaria having reversed their former anti-Russian policy turned anew toward that country, and became the protégés of the Czar, while Greece and Rumania drew together against the Bulgarian agitators in Macedonia, and looked for support to Austria. The Austro-Russian *entente* remained in force, and in 1903 its efficiency was put to the test. To put a stop to the intolerable conditions

in Macedonia, and the danger of a war between Bulgaria and Turkey, the powers had drawn up a programme for reform, but afterward they turned the matter over to Austria and Russia. These two powers submitted a joint scheme to the Porte, its main features involving their supervision of the reorganization of the gendarmerie and the control of the new communal autonomy in the disturbed region. After much hesitation the Porte agreed, hoping, as later events proved, to prevent the plan from being carried into execution.

In the Far East Japan, promoted to international equality with the other powers in 1899, had found in the Chinese crisis the opportunity of definitely establishing her position as one of the concert of civilized powers. That concert, tested anew at Peking, displayed unusual unanimity, and handled a difficult matter in a spirit of conciliation and compromise. This was the first time that the European concert had been called upon to deal with a question not of governments and boundaries, but of trade. If, as Goluchowski said, the wars of the future were to be trade-wars, then little blood was destined to be shed. Unfortunately this was much too optimistic a view of the situation, especially with regard to the Far East. The next war was to be not so much a trade-war as one over territorial aggrandizement. The main causes of the war between Russia and Japan, which broke out in the spring of 1904, was the continuance of the occupation by Russia of Manchuria, which, according to the convention of 1902, she had agreed to evacuate by October, 1903, and the aggressiveness of Japan in demanding that the terms of the agreement be carried out and limits set to Russian aggression in the territory immediately opposite the Mikado's kingdom. On February 7 Japan broke off diplomatic relations. The next day actual hostilities were begun by the Japanese fleet, and one of the most remarkable wars of history was commenced.

An event of great international significance arose at the very outset of the war through a note by Secretary Hay of the United States to the other powers, suggesting a limitation of the area of the war and the preservation of the neutrality of China, to which assent was readily given, although provisionally by the two combatants. Later, there occurred the difficulties over seizures by the Russian cruisers, and the question as to what constituted contraband, Russia at first taking the stand that coal and foodstuffs were contraband, but afterward acceding to the position of Great Britain and the United States, that foodstuffs must be kept in the class of conditional contraband only. Fortunately for Europe and the world, wise counsels prevailed and the danger of a general war, which at times seemed imminent, was averted.

CHAPTER VI.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE EUROPEAN STATES TO THE PRESENT TIME: GERMANY, AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, ITALY.

SINCE the breach with Russia after the signing of the treaty of Berlin and the forming of the alliance with Austria and Italy, Germany had gone on steadily increasing the number and equipment of her army. In 1880 the Septennate had been renewed, extending the numbers of the standing army from 401,659 to 427,250 men, and providing for the summoning of the reserves of the first class for practice four times a year. By this arrangement it became possible to place a much greater number of disciplined men in the field in the beginning of a campaign. The construction of the North Baltic Canal, which the Reichstag sanctioned in 1885, promised to increase Germany's power of defence in the future and to open most advantageously for Germany the commerce of the Baltic. For this work, Prussia assumed in advance fifty millions of the cost, about a third of the entire estimate. When in 1887 the rumors of war made it imperative that the Septennate be again renewed, a long and heated discussion took place in the Reichstag. Though the pope himself, at Bismarck's personal request, urged the Centre to support the measure, it refused, saying that in questions of religion implicit submission was due to the pope, but in questions of politics his influence was naught, and joined with the Social Democrats and Freissinige party in rejecting the measure. The purpose seems to have been to keep the crown from becoming too independent of Parliament. The Reichstag was at once dissolved and an appeal made to the country. The Ultramontanes and the Richter party carried on a vigorous campaign; but the masses of the people, terrified at the fear of war, rallied to the support of the chancellor. In the new Reichstag elected on February 21, the Conservatives, the Free Conservatives, and the National Liberals, having united in doubtful districts in an agreement called the cartel, won a brilliant victory. The Septennate was voted without debate on March 11 by 227 voices to 31, the Centre refusing to participate. By the new measure the peace footing of the army was to stand at 468,409 men for seven years from March 31, 1888. As soon as the Septennate was accepted, the government brought in a

supplementary measure for the construction of strategic lines and the strengthening of fortresses. The permanent expenditure for the imperial army amounted to 364,117,281 marks, the supplementary outlay to 215,279,982 marks.

This practically unanimous passage of the army and the loan bills brightened the evening of Emperor William's life, clouded as it was by heavy domestic affliction. In the beginning of the year his only son,

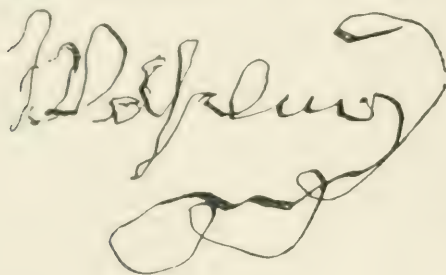


FIG. 69.—Last signature of Emperor William I.
Facsimile. Original size.

the Crown Prince Frederick William, had become affected with a malignant throat-affection, which, despite the efforts of German and English specialists, proved incurable. This and other family sorrows conspired to wear out the feeble relics of Emperor William's vitality. A cold contracted on March 4, 1888, completely prostrated him, and he died on

the 9th, mourned by his people as a monarch to be admired not only for his personal virtues, but to be revered as the restorer and consolidator of the nationality of the German people.

The crown prince was a dying man when he mounted the throne as Frederick III. (PLATE VII.), but with wonderful determination he took up the task of government, and during the three months of his reign inaugurated a liberal and conciliatory policy. It was well known that he and Bismarck differed in their ideas upon government, and had been in the past in conflict over many issues. The empress, daughter of Queen Victoria, was also hostile to the chancellor, of whose unbending and imperious methods she did not approve. The empress wished her daughter to marry Prince Alexander of Battenberg; but as Bismarck, untouched by sentimental considerations, opposed it for reasons of state, fearing a complication with Russia, since Alexander had not renounced his claims to the throne of Bulgaria, the empress was compelled to give way. Frederick III. himself had but few opportunities to make his purposes felt, but these he used to the best advantage. He wrote to von Puttkamer, vice-president of the Prussian ministry of state and minister of the interior, by marriage a distant relative of Bismarck's, rebuking his official interference in the elections, an act that led to von Puttkamer's resignation and to a tilt with Bismarck over the electoral



Frederick III., German Emperor.

From the portrait by H. von Angeli in the *Stamm-Album*, 1898.
Histories of Germany, Vol. IV, p. 100.

PLATE VIII



William II., German Emperor.

question. Again, in a proclamation issued regarding Alsace, he declared that it was the monarch's duty to cultivate German ideas and customs in that new province, and to establish there an impartial administration of justice and a law-abiding and benevolent government, conducted with circumspection and a firm hand. In the rescript to the chancellor published on the 12th of March he declared that his duty to the fatherland lay in a conscientious observance of the constitution and a maintenance at all times of the rights of the crown, together with a trustful co-operation with the representatives of the people. But such "trustful co-operation" was hardly Bismarck's method of governing, and the stricken emperor had no opportunity of carrying out his liberal intentions, for he died June 15, 1888. What he would have done, no one can say. Bismarck afterwards wrote that "if he had ruled longer, the extreme Liberals would have been greatly surprised and disillusioned by the energy and indignation with which the emperor and king would have met their plan of a 'truly constitutional government', that is, the diminution of his prerogative rights and the conduct of his government under the tutelage of Liberalism." His brief reign had, however, given strength to the opposition, which found its head in the Dowager Empress Frederick. In September, 1888, in the *Deutsche Rundschau* appeared extracts from the diary of the late emperor, which reflected directly on Bismarck and exalted the part played by the emperor, when crown prince, in the founding of the empire. Bismarck was enraged, and in a report of September 23 demanded the prosecution of the offender. Dr. Geffcken, who had furnished the diary, was seized and imprisoned, but after a detention of three months was discharged by the supreme court of the empire, and the prosecution entirely broke down.

On the death of his father, the Crown Prince William ascended the throne as Emperor William II. (PLATE VIII.). Never having approved of his father's parliamentary ideas, and brought up in close connection with the army and the conservative classes, he was prepared to uphold the policy, not of Frederick III., but of his grandfather, William I. He was a Prussian and a true Hohenzollern, and, upon succeeding to the throne, issued a proclamation to the army, in which he exalted the Hohenzollern idea of the war-chief. "We belong together, I and the army," he said; "we were born for one another, and firmly and inseparably will we hold together, whether God will give us peace or storm. You are now about to swear the oath of fidelity and obedience to me, and I vow ever to bear in mind that the eyes of my forefathers are looking down upon me from the other world, and that to them I must one day render account of your fame and honor." To his people he said:

"Called to the throne of my fathers, I have assumed the government, looking up to the King of kings, and have vowed to God that after the example of my fathers I will be a just and clement prince to my people, that I will foster piety and the fear of God, and that I will protect peace, promote the welfare of the country, be a helper of the poor and distressed, and a true guardian of the right." In his speech to the Reichstag he spoke of following in the footsteps of his grandfather, preserving peace abroad while adhering to the triple alliance, and devoting himself at home to the constitution, with regard for the needs of the poor of his kingdom. To the Prussian Landtag, on June 27, he spoke in the same words. Thus having expressed his sense of his mission and his responsibility to his country and Europe, William II. entered upon his reign. But before applying himself to the serious tasks of government, he journeyed to St. Petersburg, Stockholm, Copenhagen, London, Strassburg, Rome, and other cities, where he was received with hearty demonstrations, and where he repeated his desire for peace.

At first the emperor, refraining from interfering in affairs of a civil nature and leaving to Bismarck full control of his own policy, confined his attention chiefly to military things. In October, 1888 (as has already been noted, Vol. XIX., p. 395), a noteworthy extension of the Zollverein was effected, with the final incorporation into the empire of the free cities of Bremen and Hamburg. These cities, under pressure, resigned the ancient privileges that had been guaranteed to them in the constitution, and entered the customs union, thus making complete a movement which Prussia had begun seventy years before, and which had had a very marked influence in promoting German unity. The next year Bismarck's scheme of state socialism was completed by the passage in the Reichstag on May 24, but by a majority too small to please the chancellor, of the measure providing for insurance in case of old age and invalidity. It was his plan that this arrangement should be supplemented by the continuance of the law against the Social Democrats. In fact, Bismarck's hostility toward the Social Democrats was touched with strong feelings of personal dislike for Liebknecht and Bebel. In 1889 and 1890 the chancellor proved unusually obstinate; he declared the Social Democrats public enemies; he caused the *Volkszeitung*, a Berlin democratic paper, to be suppressed, and its editor fined and imprisoned, for attacks upon the dynasty and himself; and when strikes broke out in Berlin, Altona, and Frankfort-on-the-Main, it was due to him that these cities were declared in a minor state of siege, troops were called out, and strikers shot down. He became very angry when

the Reichstag refused to make permanent the anti-Socialist law, agreeing to renew it only from year to year, and in the *Golfingen* case he had been unable to conceal his dissatisfaction with the acquittal of the accused.

It had become evident in 1889 that the relations between the emperor and his chancellor were not amicable. The younger man resented Bismarck's displays of temper and his repressive tendencies, and was dissatisfied with his anti-Socialist policy. In the Reichstag, on the occasion of its dissolution, January 25, 1890, the emperor expressed neither regret nor reproof for the failure of that body to pass a permanent anti-Socialist law. On the 24th of January he had accepted Bismarck's resignation of his post as Prussian minister of commerce, and then on February 4 issued two decrees, one to the chancellor and the other to the minister of commerce and public works, in the first of which he embodied his own ideas regarding social betterment. "I am resolved to lend my hand," he wrote, "toward bettering the condition of German workmen as far as my solicitude for their welfare is bounded by the necessity of enabling German industry to retain its power of competing in the world's market, and thus securing its existence and that of its laborers. The relapse of our native industries through the loss of their foreign markets would not only deprive the masters, but also their men, of their bread. The difficulties in the way of an improvement in the lot of our workmen, which are founded on international competition, can only be lessened, if not altogether surmounted, by means of an international agreement between those countries which dominate the world market." In this decree was to be found not only the preliminary suggestion of that international conference of labor which was held in Berlin in 1890, but also a clear intimation of a fixed colonial and commercial policy, in which the emperor showed himself willing to go much further than Bismarck had gone. In his decree to the minister of commerce and public works, he demanded an extension of laws benefiting the laboring classes, and the devising of means whereby workingmen could give free and full expression to their desires and grievances by duly accredited representatives, who should act as negotiators between masters and men. These decrees, appearing without the countersignature of the chancellor, showed at once that the emperor was not satisfied with Bismarck's methods, and was planning to experiment with schemes of his own.

The elections of 1890 brought matters to a crisis. The cartel, which had commanded a majority in the previous Reichstag, had not held together. The trouble had begun in Prussia, where the Catholics had sought to obtain from the Landtag modifications of the educational

system. In this issue the Conservatives had supported the Clericals, while the National Liberals had opposed them; and the breach, once made, was soon widened. The emperor made it clearly understood that he wished the cartel to be preserved; and it is evident that he believed his wish would save the cartel just as his decree on labor was to reduce the Socialist vote. In both particulars was he disappointed. The elections resulted on one side in a victory for the Clericals, who secured 107 seats, and on the other in victory for the Socialists, who secured 35 seats. Even the Radicals, too, came out ahead with 70 seats, while the cartel was hopelessly beaten, winning only 137 seats (Conservatives 95,



FIG. 70.—Count Caprivi.

National Liberals 42) where before they had had 220. This defeat meant that Bismarck had lost his majority and would have to find a new one in a coalition with the Clericals. And such a coalition Bismarck at once began to arrange for; but the emperor refused to agree, and, when the chancellor entered into negotiations with Dr. Windthorst, expressed his displeasure that such advances should have been made without his knowledge. The difficulty was increased by the emperor's interference in Prussian civil matters. As King of Prussia he had made appointments and inaugurated programmes that were at variance with Bismarck's views, and as such a course of action was contrary to the custom of William I. and Frederick III., Bismarck at once remonstrated, insisting that he alone had the right to appoint ministers and shape their policy. The result of all these differences between the emperor and his chancellor was that on March 18 Bismarck asked to be relieved of the three offices

of chancellor, Prussian minister of state, and minister of foreign affairs, and his resignation was accepted. On the 26th he retired from Berlin to Friedrichsruh, where he remained until his death in 1898. He was succeeded in the chancellorship by Count Caprivi (Fig. 70). From his place of retirement Bismarck gave free rein to his feelings, showing great bitterness because of the abruptness of his dismissal, whereas he had confidently expected to remain at his post "as long as the weight of years did not destroy his health and strength." In interviews with the press, in addresses to deputations, in inspired articles in the *Hamburger Nachrichten* and *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung*, he criticised the government, particularly for its course in foreign politics. "A good minister," he said, on one of the occasions when he expressed his opinion freely, "ought not to regard the frown of his monarch whom he serves, but should out with his opinion frank and free. In the event of an adverse decision he may then choose whether he will yield or go." The government instructed its foreign representatives to regard Bismarck's views as those only of a private man, and, it is commonly supposed, hinted to the great chancellor not to talk so openly. But if so, the admonition passed unheeded. In 1891 he spoke chiefly through the press; his tone was one of captious criticism, and he constantly reiterated his belief that the "firm edifice of the empire" was undergoing disintegration. In 1892, on a visit to Vienna to attend the wedding of his son, he was refused an audience by Emperor Francis Joseph, an act for which the Berlin government was responsible, and one which was followed by a number of indiscreet revelations on Bismarck's part and a long newspaper controversy. The general effect was dispiriting to the public and humiliating to the prince, for the attitude of the emperor was unnecessarily brutal.

The speech of Caprivi before the Prussian Landtag on April 14, 1890, and that of the emperor at the opening of the Reichstag on May 6, indicated that no serious changes were to be made in the policy of the government. It would uphold the peace alliances and work for the maintenance of order. It would modify the measures against the Socialists, let the anti-Socialist law expire by limitation, and co-operate for the benefit of the laboring classes. "Those who will aid me," said the emperor in a speech to the estates of the province of Brandenburg, "are heartily welcome, whoever they may be; but those who oppose me in this work, I will crush." The result of the granting of greater liberty of speech and the press, of the large programme of social and industrial reforms presented to the Reichstag, and of the emperor's reiteration of his determination to preserve peace abroad, was undoubtedly quieting to

the masses and roused considerable enthusiasm. It promised a breaking-up of all parties more or less, except the Centrist and the Socialist, the latter of which, in order to become a regular party in the Chamber, had already begun to reorganize, and, abandoning revolutions, insurrections, and barricades, had decided to adopt strictly legislative methods of attack. But these acts and good intentions of the emperor lost something of their force when he gave utterance to the astonishing statements which he seemed especially fond of making at this time, and which hardly comported with his position as a constitutional sovereign. *Hoc voto, sic jubeo*, he is reported to have written on a photograph; and in a visitor's book, *suprema lex regis voluntas esto*. To his soldiers he is reported to have declared that they "belonged, body and soul," to him; in a speech at Düsseldorf, "That is the nature of a monarchy; there is only one master, and that is I." In 1893 to the soldiers in Berlin and Spandau: "The soldier has not to have a will of his own; he must have but one will, and that my will; one law, and that my law." But some of these quotations are not well authenticated.

Excellent legislative measures were passed. On May 9, 1891, an act was adopted for the protection of workmen, which was framed according to the recommendations of the Berlin labor conference of the year before; a sugar-tax measure was agreed to; and most important of all, the beginning was made in the inauguration of a new commercial policy by the ratification of treaties with certain states, ten in all, which modified the old protective policy. Treaties were arranged in 1892 with Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, Belgium, and Italy; in the next year with Spain, Servia, and Rumania; and in 1894, after a long controversy, a tariff war, and further negotiation, a treaty, the most important of all, was made with Russia. But that which created more widespread interest was the army bill, which was brought up in the session of 1892-93. The Septennate of 1887 remained in force until 1894, and in preparing for its renewal the government proposed to modify it by increasing the number of men on a peace footing by 25,000, and reducing the term of service with the colors from three to two years. But a powerful opposition, and one not entirely due to a disinterested dislike of the bill, was made by the party of the Centre. In 1892 Count Zedlitz-Trützschler, minister of public worship, had introduced into the Prussian Landtag a bill regarding primary education, according to which compulsory religious instruction was to be given to children by teachers of their own creed. The Conservatives and Clericals had supported it, Caprivi had committed himself to it, and the emperor had favored it. But a tremendous outcry against it had arisen from the country, and

so fierce had become the opposition that the government, bewildered, had hastily withdrawn the bill. Zedlitz-Trützschler had resigned, and then, to the surprise of everyone, Caprivi also had resigned as head of the Prussian ministry. This quarrel in Prussia had affected the parties in the Reichstag; and now that the Centrists had the opportunity to retaliate, they voted against the government which in the main they had supported for three years, and caused the rejection of the army bill by a majority of 48 votes.

A regrouping of parties was inevitable. The Conservatives, largely made up of Junkers or lesser land-owning nobles, were opposed to the commercial treaties, and just at this time were fighting bitterly the treaty with Russia; and in consequence agrarian parties were forming that were hostile to the government on the commercial and monetary side. On February 18, 1893, a German Agrarian League was organized to advocate a protective tariff, bimetalism, and the abrogation of the treaties which had reduced the duty on grain; and its numbers increased rapidly. At the same time an Anti-Semite party was making itself heard under a troublesome and tempestuous leader, Ahlwardt, who had already sat in the Reichstag; and in the elections of 1893 forty-nine Anti-Semites had been posted as candidates. The Centrists had not been united on the army bill, twelve having voted against it; and now many of the more Ultramontane members were preparing to secede from the body. The Radicals were about to break up into two parties: the Radical People's party, led by Eugen Richter; and the Radical Unionists, representing the extreme and the moderate wings. In consequence of this party disintegration, the results of the elections of 1893 remained for a long time uncertain. When the final supplementary elections were over, it was found that the Radicals had lost 32 seats, and thus as a party were nearly destroyed; the Centrists had lost 10, while the Free Conservatives had come up with 27, the Conservatives with 68, the National Liberals with 52, the Social Democrats with 43, and the Anti-Semites with 16. These gains made the passage of the army bill practically certain; but the meagreness of the victory can be determined when it is seen that the vote on the first clause gave a majority of only 11, and that, had the Poles with 19 votes cast themselves against the bill, it would have been defeated again.

The Conservatives now hoped to defeat the commercial treaty with Russia. Members of the Agrarian League, nobles of East Prussia, and farmers of Bavaria fought the measure at every point, in order to prevent the reduction of the duty on grain, which would injure their landholding interests. But the emperor, to whom Germany's career as a

manufacturing and commercial state was of more consequence than her agricultural welfare, threw his influence on the side of the bill. By this treaty Germany reduced her tariff on grain, timber, and cattle, while Russia made concessions on all manufactured articles. The bill was carried in the Reichstag by a majority of 54, the deputies voting without much regard to party lines.

But Miquel (Fig. 71), minister of finance, was unable to get for his financial measures the same support that Caprivi had secured for his commercial treaties. Richter opposed him; and the Reichstag, worn out with its labors on the commercial alliances, was unwilling to enter upon the



FIG. 71. — Dr. Miquel.

consideration of another and so important a measure. Just at this time occurred a dramatic incident of great interest, the reconciliation between the emperor and Bismarck. The latter, however restless and discontented he had shown himself to be when shorn of power, was beloved by the German people, and it was not only a courteous but a politic act of the emperor to make the first friendly advances. In 1893, on the occasion of an illness of the prince, William II. had sent a message congratulating him on his recovery and offering a palace for his convalescence. It was thought at the time that this incident presaged a reconciliation. In

January, 1894, the emperor sent his aide-de-camp to Friedrichsruh, to invite the prince to Berlin, and on the 20th of the same month Bismarck visited the capital. The populace turned out in throngs to welcome the old statesman, who was visibly affected by the greeting given to him by the emperor. The visit had no political significance—it was wholly sentimental in nature; but as pointing to an accord between the founder and the emperor of the German empire, seemed emblematic of its unity and strength. On February 19 the emperor visited Friedrichsruh, and the reconciliation appeared complete.

The discord among the old Conservatives, the utter disorder that seemed to be reigning in the bourgeois parties, and the astonishing and alarming growth of the Socialist vote, which had reached 1,786,738 in 1893, roused the emperor to take some steps in 1894 whereby the gov-

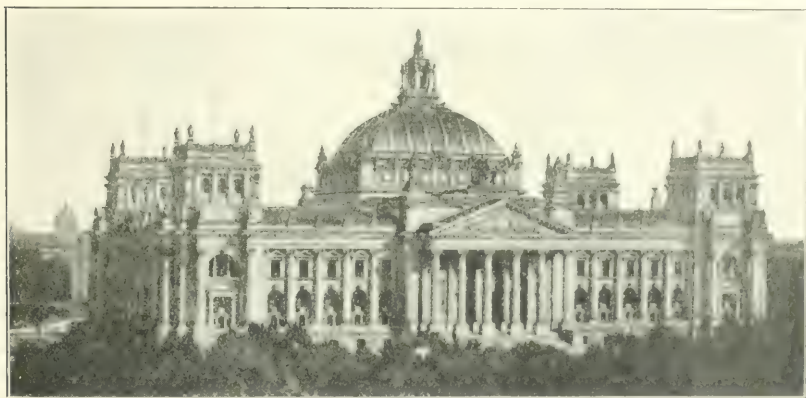


FIG. 72. Reichstag Building.

ernmental support might be recovered and the Socialist movement checked. In a speech delivered on September 6, at a state banquet at Königsberg, he reproved sharply the Prussian squirearchy, which, as representing the Agrarian League, had revolted against the new commercial régime. The tone of the speech was such as to give rise to the rumor that the emperor was not only rebuking the nobility, but was planning to destroy the social democracy by repression. The Socialists and Anarchists in Germany, as elsewhere, had been unusually daring during 1894; and though the work of the Anarchists had been done chiefly outside of Germany—in France, Italy, and Austria—the Social Democrats in Germany had been rather more outspoken than usual. Two Socialist deputies in the Reichstag had refused to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor, and on the occasion of the first sitting in the new building (Fig. 72) the whole body of Socialist deputies refused to

rise and join in cheers for him. Hardly had it become known that repressive measures were being framed, when the report came that Chancellor Caprivi had resigned. This unexpected event was due not so much to a disagreement between him and the emperor over the anti-revolutionary laws, as to a sharp quarrel which Caprivi had had with von Eulenburg, the head of the Prussian ministry, who was the leader



FIG. 73.—Von Eulenburg.

of that section of the ministry advocating extreme repressive measures. In October, 1894, in consequence of this quarrel, both men were called upon to resign; and the two offices were united in the person of Prince Hohenlohe (Fig. 74), the ambassador at Paris in 1875 and the governor of Alsace for the preceding ten years.

The new chancellor made no change in policy, but introduced at once the bill for extending the criminal laws in order the better to protect the state and maintain order. By these laws anyone publicly attacking religion, the monarchy, marriage, the family, or property with expressions of abuse, or disseminating invented or distorted facts having in view to render contemptible institutions of the state or decrees of the authorities, was to be punished and imprisoned. This measure aroused intense opposition on the part of the German people, who saw that it would become a drag-net in the hands of the police authorities, to ensnare any individual or party who happened to offend the government. Happily the bill was rejected by majorities so large as to preclude the

government's making a second attempt very soon. State socialism, repressive legislation, *laissez-faire* had failed to check the growth of socialism; and the emperor was now driven to try another method. After the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the battle of Sedan, which gave the Socialist leaders an opportunity for uncomplimentary remarks, editors were arrested, newspapers were confiscated, and a war was proclaimed against Socialists generally in Prussia and Saxony. Dierl, editor of *Vorwärts*, was sentenced to six months in prison; Liebknecht himself was sentenced to four months' imprisonment; and the imprisonment of lesser offenders against the imperial name and dignity became of almost daily occurrence in the autumn of



FIG. 71.—Prince Hohenhausen.

1895. But socialism continued to spread; and the government, growing more than ever alarmed, issued new and rigorous measures to prevent the infection from reaching the army and navy. *Vorwärts* remarked, when these decrees were issued: "The minister of war ought to know better than to think he can check by such inadequate means the progress of socialism."

In the midst of this agrarian and socialistic agitation, a larger Germany was arising. In June, 1895, the North Baltic or Kaiser Wilhelm Canal, which crosses Schleswig-Holstein and connects the naval ports of Kiel and Wilhelmshaven, was opened with elaborate ceremonial. The canal, which was expected to aid in the development

of the naval strength and the commercial progress of the empire, was begun in 1887. It is sixty-one miles long, and has cost nearly 160,000,000 marks. The military and commercial progress signaled by the opening of this canal was supplemented by the completion and adoption in 1896 of the great civil code, which, like the Zollverein, the imperial postal system, and the common military organization, was expected to make for uniformity in the empire, and therefore for unity and strength. Notwithstanding considerable opposition in the Reichstag, the code, which had taken twenty years to complete, was adopted by a majority of 174. It had been prepared by practical lawyers and judges, and was designed to do away with the multitude of local customs and laws that existed in the different states of Germany. Its adoption marked an important step in the direction of German legal unity; for its object, the codification and unification of German private law, was one greatly to be desired. It was supplemented in 1897 by a new commercial code, of scarcely less importance, and both codes went into effect on January 1, 1900.

The canal and the commercial code were significant of Germany's economic development. In twenty-five years Germany had been transformed from an agricultural into an industrial state; her trade had increased so rapidly that commerce was supplanting agriculture and was shifting the centre of economic gravity from the country to the cities. The emperor, in full harmony with these economic tendencies, was aiding whatever would strengthen Germany's commercial welfare, and was unwilling to ally himself with the agrarian cause. The government was ready to pacify the agrarians by oleomargarine and emigrant legislation, but in larger matters gave commerce and industry first place. In March, 1897, the minister of marine, in addition to the usual budget estimates, advocated a startling enlargement of the navy programme, according to which the home fleet of battle-ships was to be strengthened and the number of vessels intended for foreign service in time of peace was to be increased. The bill, introduced into the Reichstag in November, 1897, contemplated, in addition to the usual estimates, the expenditure, during the ensuing seven years, of 410,000,000 marks, and the building of 17 battle-ships and 26 cruisers. The Centrists, Radicals, and Social Democrats opposed the bill with considerable pertinacity during the winter, but at no time was it seriously in danger. The advance of German aggression in the Far East in the autumn of 1897, the seizure of Kiao-Chow as a naval base for the support of Germany's commercial interests in China, the dispatching of Prince Henry to China with the injunction to strike with the mailed fist in

case of affront, all these things contributed to develop a sense of self-importance characterized by one Berlin paper as "a joyful feeling which thrilled the nation and rendered it ready and willing to cross the threshold of the portal that leads to its great future." The Centrist party held the balance of power, and its proposition to change the Septennate to a Sexennate the government finally accepted in March, 1898, and the bill was passed by a majority of 74. The elections of June, 1898, disclosed the sentiments of the country at large. The Conservatives, Free Conservatives, and the National Liberals lost each a few seats, the Radicals for the most part held their own, while the Centrists gained two seats and the Social Democrats eight. Poles and Anti-Semites lost considerably. The real victory lay with the Clericals and the Social Democrats, and was largely due to the superb organization of these parties, the latter of whom polled 2,125,000 votes, a greater number than was polled by any other single party, forming more than a fourth of all the votes cast. Had seats been distributed in proportion to population, the Social Democrats would have controlled 111 seats, whereas their number, 57, was but little more than half that of the Centrists and about the same as that of the Conservatives. But the Clericals were holding the balance of power in the Reichstag; and as the government was willing to use any party that would aid it, and as the old cartel union had been almost hopelessly disintegrated by agrarianism, it was evident that the emperor would find his chief support against the Socialists in the Centrists.

The military spirit instinct in German administrative methods now disclosed itself in many different ways. An epidemic of prosecutions for *lèse majesté* broke out. Out of 643 prosecutions in 1897, 457 resulted in conviction; and of the persons sentenced, 52 were sent to prison for terms of more than one year, and 259 for periods of less than a year, but exceeding three months. These prosecutions reached a climax in January, 1898, when Trojan, the well-known editor of *Kladderadatsch*, was sentenced to two months' incarceration for publishing a caricature referring to a speech of the emperor's addressed to recruits. This sentence not only made the government appear ridiculous, but made the emperor for the moment the laughing-stock of the world. In November, Harden, the editor of *Zukunft*, was sentenced to six months' incarceration, as had been Trojan, in a fortress. In December two trials resulted in the discharge of an American prisoner, and the sentencing to six months' imprisonment of the draughtsman of the comic journal *Simplicissimus*, the printers of which, for culpable negligence, were fined each 300 marks. As *Vorwärts* said, "We Socialists have

long been accustomed to such prosecutions; but when brave bourgeois and zealous Bismarckians like Herr Harden suffer the same fate, the striking progress of German justice is exhibited to the world." Still more noteworthy was the attempt of the Prussian government to discipline the *privat dozenten*, and in so doing to limit the liberty of teaching. Dr. Aron, a Social Democrat, lecturer on mathematics in the University of Berlin, refused to resign, and after considerable controversy was maintained in his position by the faculty, though he was eventually removed. In June, 1898, one day's issue of the *New York Herald* was confiscated for containing a copy of a poem, "Ich selbst und Gott," reflecting on the emperor. These vexatious prosecutions continued through 1898, after which they were dropped; but in all it was estimated that from 1893 to 1898, 1239 persons had been sentenced to 2250 years of imprisonment for personal offences against the emperor. Agrarians and bourgeois, as well as Socialists, had fallen under the ban. Prosecutions were continued, however, in 1900, when Harden was again sentenced to six months' confinement.

In November and December, 1898, the Prussian government extended administrative oppression in another direction, expelling aliens from Prussian territory and Germanizing the vacated regions. The Danes were driven in large numbers from Northern Schleswig, Dutchmen from Westphalia, Polish Jews and Austrian Slavs from Silesia, a policy which aroused great indignation in Austria and Denmark, and called forth severe criticism from enlightened Germans themselves. The Poles felt this Germanizing most keenly. The policy that had been adopted in 1886 had been dropped in 1890, when a reconciliation had been effected and the Poles had loyally supported the government; but their increased prosperity gave rise to much apprehension. The plan of 1886 was revived and a large sum of money placed at the disposal of the Settlement Commission to enable German colonists to purchase Polish land. The plan had succeeded in Schleswig, but grave difficulties were encountered in the Polish provinces. Not only did the Poles increase more rapidly in population, numbering 10 per cent. of the total in Prussia in 1900, and spreading into all parts of the state, but, despite the aid given the Germans by the government, they had purchased 76,611 acres more land in Posen since the appointment of the Commission. Nevertheless Prussia, supported by the imperial government, determined to establish the national supremacy of the German element at any cost, and in 1902 a new Polish settlement bill was passed, providing 250,000,000 marks for the settling of Germans in Posen and West Prussia.

Two other measures disclosed the same fondness on the part of the

German as well as the Prussian government for restrictive legislation. A bill was introduced into the Reichstag providing for the protection of the laboring classes against those who would prevent them from working and would incite them to strike, and inflicting penal servitude upon any who incited to a strike or lockout of such gravity as to endanger the security of the state or imperil the security of life or of property. This "penal servitude" bill, as it was called, was rejected November 20, 1899, by a large majority. The Progressists and Socialists gained another great victory when the *lex Heinze*, a measure introduced by the government to regulate the exposure and sale of books and pictures and to place public entertainments under stricter supervision, was practically defeated in May, 1900. The bill had aroused wrath in Germany and had led to the organization of a Goethe league, "for defence against movements hostile to art and literature." When it was introduced again, the objectionable clauses were all left out. The failure of the government in these two measures showed the wisdom of the social democracy in using their power in a constitutional way against any measure which the government desired to bring forward in the Chamber.

Nor did the emperor, who was also King of Prussia, find the Prussian Landtag much more tractable than the Reichstag. In the former, in 1899, a new difficulty arose. The emperor was extremely desirous of supplementing his other and more imperial schemes by a system of canals connecting the great rivers of Germany and providing for cheaper inland communication. But the Conservative and Agrarian parties, believing this scheme to be in the interest of the manufacturing and industrial classes and opposed to their own, used their influence against it; and in spite of strong pressure from the government, a committee of the Landtag, in May, 1899, rejected the bill providing for the constructing of a canal from the Elbe to the Rhine. On August 16, the Landtag itself rejected the bill by a large majority. The conflict became acute. The emperor and the chancellor were determined to force the measure through; the Conservatives and Free Conservatives—that is, the nobility and aristocratic landowners—were equally determined to defeat it. The chancellor finally declared that the bill must be passed, and implied that if the Conservatives continued to oppose it they would be disciplined; but despite this threat the Conservatives by a still larger majority defeated a compromise proposal a week later. As a result, members of the Landrätke were removed, political officials who opposed the measure were retired on half-pay, and certain members of the nobility were informed that their presence was not desired at court. This led to an outburst of indignant remonstrance, not only from the Conservatives,

but from the Liberals, that such actions were unconstitutional ; and even those who supported the government declared that such measures would lead to the success of the Social Democrats at the next election. The emperor yielded and the measure was withdrawn, only to be introduced again in February, 1900, in a much more elaborate form. The new canal bill provided not only for the Rhine-Elbe canal, but for a complete canal system to be constructed during the ensuing fifteen years ; and there was little doubt that eventually the measure would be passed. In June, 1900, the emperor opened the canal connecting the Elbe and the Trave, thus inaugurating a new water-route between the North Sea and the Baltic.

Though the Sexennate had still five years to run, it became known in 1899 that the government was preparing to submit to the Reichstag a new measure for the further increase of the navy. This was due, as von Bülow said in introducing the measure, to recent changes in international legislation, the entrance of Germany into world politics, and her expansion into a greater Germany. The bill was brought forward in the Reichstag on April 8, 1900, by Admiral Tirpitz, secretary of the navy. It provided for the expenditure of 1,600,000,000 marks for new vessels, coast defence, coaling stations, and new arsenals, of which 783,000,000 was to be borrowed and the remainder raised by taxation. The plan was to double the existing naval strength by the year 1916. The measure was opposed by Richter of the Radical Left, Rören of the Centrists, and Bebel of the Socialists, on the ground that it meant war with England. But von Bülow upheld its purely defensive character. The opposition was in the majority, and the government worked hard to effect a combination of parties sufficient to carry the measure. The majority of the Conservatives, National Liberals, and Moderate Radicals favored the bill ; but the Clericals, Agrarians, and Richter Radicals opposed it ; and in order to win over the Agrarians, the government transformed the meat-inspection bill, originally designed for no other purpose than to guard the public health, into a partisan measure containing provisions satisfactory to the Agrarians, by imposing higher duties on imported meat. To gain the Clericals, the government accepted their substitute measure which reduced the vessels provided for service in foreign stations and made the reserve considerably smaller than that desired by the government. It declared itself also ready to accept the Clerical scheme of new taxation—the introduction of new stamp duties and the increase of customs duties on brandy and champagne. After some changes in the budget committee, the first clause of the bill was voted on June 3, 1900, and on June 9 the bill passed its second read-

ing. But before it was passed on to the third reading, the stamp and customs duties bills were adopted, to insure the final support of the Clericals; and then on June 12 the bill, opposed to the last by the Radicals, Social Democrats, South German Democrats, Poles, and Hanoverians, passed to the third reading and was carried by 201 votes to 103.

This victory for a larger Germany gave undoubted strength to the cause of the commercial and industrial classes as against the agrarian class. The position of the government, both in the Reichstag and in the Prussian Landtag, was far from satisfactory. It had been beaten in the former by the Progressists, who, aided by the Social Democrats, had succeeded in defeating the penal servitude bill and the *lex Heinze* in its original form; and it had been compelled to compromise with the Centrists in order to carry the naval bill, which the emperor ardently desired should become a law, and to the execution of which he was devoting all his energies in order adequately to provide his government with a navy which should protect his interests. In the Landtag the Prussian ministry had met with the opposition of the Conservatives, who had resisted its project for the construction of a canal connecting the Rhine with the Elbe in order to unite the eastern and western provinces of the empire, while everywhere the Agrarians were battling for the establishment of a protective tariff in the interest of agriculture.

The retirement in October, 1900, of Prince Hohenlohe, on account of old age, and the appointment of Count von Bülow (Fig. 75) as imperial chancellor and president of the Prussian ministry, was undoubtedly a gain for the government, in that it replaced a man nearly eighty years old, without real authority or definite policy, by one who was to prove vigorous in plan and resourceful in execution, who was likewise unwilling to push to extremes the opposition parties. In January, 1901, von Bülow introduced into the Prussian Landtag the Rhine and Elbe Canal bill with additions, as well as various measures dealing with the relief of agriculture and the housing of the poor. In order to gain the support of the Agrarians he made a very interesting speech, declaring that the Prussian government was fully aware of the depressed condition of agriculture and was animated by a desire to improve it; that it had resolved to make an effort to secure adequate protective duties for agricultural products and to expedite in every way the introduction of a new measure increasing the tariff rates sufficiently to meet that end; and that it was its duty to protect impartially agriculture, commerce, and industry. This concession to the Agrarians called forth strong protests from the leaders of the Freisinnige and Socialist parties, to the effect that

the government was endangering the chances of renewing the commercial treaties in 1903, upon which depended the welfare of millions of the working classes. The strength of the Agrarians was, however, displayed in the Landtag when at the end of the month a resolution was brought forward and carried by 238 to 43 votes, demanding at the approaching revision of the commercial treaties a considerable increase in the protective duties on agricultural products. These demands could not be overlooked by the government, and in the new tariff proposals developed from the tentative scheme submitted in July, 1901, the duties on agricultural imports were increased and provision made for minimum rates on grain. The measure was bitterly opposed by the industrial interests,



FIG. 75. — Count von Bülow.

both of labor and capital. Meetings of representatives of all the principal cities of the empire denounced the new plan, and passed resolutions against the increased duties upon "the necessities of life." One-fifth of the population of Germany, it was urged, was dependent upon the export trade, and this was endangered by the new tariff plan which made the renewal of the commercial treaties impossible. Nor were the Agrarians satisfied; their opposition to the schedule of rates adopted by the government was uncompromising, particularly to the minimum duties on grain, which von Bülow had set as the limit beyond which the government could not go in the direction of protecting their interests. For

nearly a year and a half the tariff remained the chief subject of political interest in the Reichstag. Finally, the government made some concessions by increasing the duty on barley and lowering it on agricultural implements, and in December, 1902, the measure became law, to go into effect in 1906. As a whole, it is highly protectionist in character and distinctly in favor of the Agrarians. New commercial treaties had now to be arranged with the neighboring states, and the task was by no means an easy one. The freer tariff policy, as seen in the Russian treaty of 1894, the tentative understanding with England and the United States, and the treaty with Turkey, all involved a degree of reciprocity which the new tariff made impossible. As a consequence no progress was made in the negotiations during 1903, but in 1904 new treaties were made with Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and several of the minor countries.

As early as 1900 the struggle over the tariff and the military bill revealed the position of the government between two extremes: Conservatives, Imperialists, Agrarians, and Anti-Semites on one side; and Progressists and Social Democrats on the other. With the decay of the great middle group of National Liberals, the Social Democrats steadily gained ground. At the same time the older, uncompromising leaders of the party were gradually losing influence in the presence of younger, more moderate representatives. Liebknecht died in August, 1900, and of the earlier group only Bebel remained. With the death of Liebknecht, whose funeral was the occasion of an outburst of feeling on the part of the people of Berlin, was removed a great obstacle in the way of the transformation of the Social Democrats into a reform party. Moderates, like the Bavarian Vollmar, the Berlin manufacturer Singer, and others, were willing to give up their former attitude of uncompromising hostility, although they still maintained clear and definite opinions. The Socialist congress at Mainz in September, 1900, under the presidency of Singer, unanimously adopted a resolution condemning the world policy of Germany as "a rapacious capitalistic and military movement aiming at the establishment of a greater Germany." In the general elections for the Reichstag in June, 1903, the party showed the most astounding gains. The Socialist candidates received nearly a million more votes than in the previous election; of the eight and a half million German voters, over three million voted for Socialists. Nor were these all confined to the cities and towns; a large proportion of the Socialist votes were cast in the rural districts. In the Reichstag the Social Democrats increased their representation from 58 to 81. But the government again had a good majority: the Conservatives, Catholics

or Centrists, and National Liberals controlled over 200 votes, while the Socialists and Radicals combined could muster 111 only. Owing to the fact that the German system of distribution of representatives favored the agricultural at the expense of the manufacturing constituencies, the Socialists were not represented according to their real strength. A Socialist member represented on an average 49,042 votes, or twice as many as a Conservative.

The most important questions before the new Reichstag in 1904 related to the budget, which revealed a very unsatisfactory condition of the imperial finances as well as a general industrial depression; the war against the Hereros in German Southwest Africa; the building of a railroad in East Africa; the inland canal project, involving an appropriation of one hundred million dollars; the repeal of the Anti-Jesuit law of 1872, and the extension of the application of the law of insurance against invalidity and old age to commercial and marine industry. Proposals for the increase of the army and navy were allowed to stand over because of the unsatisfactory condition of the finances and the strong opposition from the Left. In the Prussian Landtag matters remained unchanged. Mißel, finance minister, whose attitude throughout the whole "canal war" was strangely inconsistent, had resigned in 1901. The Socialists, in their congress at Mainz, had voted not only to participate in elections for the Landtag, despite the restricted suffrage, but also to form parliamentary alliances with other parties. But because of the "three-class system" of voting their efforts were not successful in the elections of 1904, the strength of the parties in the Landtag remaining practically unchanged. In the King's speech, at the opening of the new Landtag, no mention was made of the canal project, although the completion of the state railway system was urged, and an act raising a loan of nearly a million and a half for the purpose was passed.

The outlook for the imperial government in 1904 was far from being as bright as its supporters could have desired. Strong as the empire had become, there was within it a feeling of uncertainty with regard to the future. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the government, wealth had not kept pace with the increasing population of the country; and the commercial policy, upon which the government had laid such great stress, had not produced results commensurate with expenditures. The colonies proved a steady drain upon the imperial treasury, and were not sought by the German emigrant, who continued to prefer America to German East Africa notwithstanding the inducements offered to settlers. The rival interests of industrials and agrarians

seemed irreconcilable ; the agrarians were suffering and demanding government aid ; the merchants and manufacturers, who looked to their " world policy " for enrichment, were finding that prices did not rise and that profits diminished ; the laborers, whose wages were forced to a low point, whose taxes were increasing, whose food was threatened with increased duties, convinced that something was wrong, were joining the Socialists. Even the emperor himself seemed at times to lose heart, if the tone of his unofficial utterances can be regarded as expressing his deliberate thought. The results of his attempts to work out the welfare of his people and to strengthen the state had fallen far short of his expectations. In international matters Germany's policy, with England on one side and Russia on the other, was not strong ; there was evidence of a conflict between commercial antagonism and race antagonism ; between the markets and the natural antipathies of race. In the Russo-Japanese war the government showed a tendency to support Russia, although popular sentiment was, on the whole, against this policy. But whatever the attitude of the government at home or abroad, whether it supported the Agrarians or promoted commerce by a world policy, social democracy, the only great factor in the empire, was gaining. Agrarians, Pan-Germans, Centrists, formed only minor groups in the conflict, the real question lying between social reform and reorganization of the state on one side, and the maintenance of a greater Germany with its colonies, commerce, and power of monarchy on the other. Perhaps these two apparently divergent tendencies were not as irreconcilable as they seemed.

In Austria in 1889 the bitterness of race conflicts was intensified by grief for the heavy personal sorrows of the emperor. On January 30, 1889, at the hunting-lodge of Myerling near Vienna, the Crown Prince Rudolf was found dead, together with the Baroness Marie Vetsera, under circumstances still somewhat mysterious. Rudolf was the emperor's only son, and with his death the succession passed to his uncle, the Archduke Charles, who passed it on to his eldest son, Francis Ferdinand. When in 1900 Ferdinand married the Countess Chotek, and expressed his willingness to renounce all right of succession to the throne, the title seemed likely to pass to his brother, Archduke Otto. The death of the crown prince was a heavy blow to the old emperor. " There is nothing more left to me," he said to the Hungarian minister-president Tisza, " except my duty to my people."

Social and religious disturbances now broke out. In 1890 the work-

men in Neu-Lörschenfeld, in the coal districts of Ostrau, Mitkowitz, and Troppau, became so bold in their attacks upon property and even persons as to bring upon them the militia of the districts. From this time to 1895 scarcely a year elapsed that the machinations of the Social Democrats did not create disturbances, which were usually increased by agitation on the part of the Anti-Semitic mobs. In 1895 Bebel, the Socialist member of the German Reichstag, began in Austria a propaganda for the purpose of increasing the power of the Social Democrats and of aligning them with corresponding organizations in other lands. Celebrations were held in March of that year in favor of an eight-hour workday and the adoption of universal suffrage. Strikes in Vienna were followed by conflicts with the police, and blood was shed in Pilsen, Graz, and Cracow.

This socialistic and democratic movement was accompanied with another, the Anti-Semitic movement, at the bottom of which lay racial and religious bigotry, and which in Vienna and the surrounding country reached a degree of intensity almost unequalled in Europe. The Anti-Semites charged the Jews with hating physical labor; with obtaining wealth by haggling, usury, and spoliation of Christians; with antidynastic agitation through the press, which the Anti-Semites believed was largely under Jewish control; and lastly, with ritual murders, of which the superstitious populace believed the Jews guilty. Clericals joined with petty shopkeepers, subordinate government employees, and Jew-baiting politicians in harrying the whole Hebrew race; and through this combination, Anti-Semitism increased rapidly in strength. In 1895 it gained control of the Vienna common council, and in conjunction with the Clericals was able to dictate the election of the burgermaster in this wise: on May 14 the council chose Dr. Lüger (Fig. 76), head of the Anti-Semitic party, the unscrupulous hater of Jews and enemy of the Magyars, as vice-burgermaster. This led to the resignation of Dr. Grübel, who had been chosen burgermaster, and immediately Lüger was elected in his place. But the victory of the Anti-Semites was not yet won, for the stadtholder dissolved the council. At the new elections, September 27, the Anti-Semites won a greater victory over the Liberals, having in the voting classes a majority of nearly 20,000 votes. On October 29 Lüger was again chosen burgermaster by the council, under a programme of popular government, industrial reform, and extension of education; but the emperor refused to confirm his election, and again the council was dissolved. A fourth election in April of the next year brought matters to a crisis; but at the express wish of the emperor, Lüger resigned his office, and another Anti-Semite, Strobach, was put in his place. But the Viennese persisted in sending a majority of Anti-

Semites to the council, who, notwithstanding the opposition of the Windischgrätz and Badeni ministries, continued to elect Luger as burgermaster. In 1897 his election was confirmed by the emperor, and from that time he continued to hold office and Anti-Semitism continued to dominate Vienna.



FIG. 76. Dr. Luger.

In the meantime the situation in Bohemia was approaching a crisis. The Young Czechs under Dr. Ghegr were engaged in a struggle for Bohemian autonomy, even at the expense of the unity of the empire. In the Bohemian diet, in the Reichsrat, and even in the Austrian delegation, they vociferated their hatred of the triple alliance and their attachment to Russia and France. At the request of the emperor and Count Taaffe, the Old Czechs, the Feudalists, and the Constitutionalists entered into an agreement with the Germans in January, 1890, under the terms of which a compromise diet was held in May of that year. Under the terms of that compromise or *Ausgleich*, the German scheme of dividing the country into districts in which one language only should prevail was adopted instead of the Czechish plan of maintaining the administrative unity of the land with two languages legally recognized. According to this scheme the kingdom was to be redistricted for administrative, judicial, and electoral purposes; the regulation requiring government and local officials to know both languages was to be re-

pealed; the Bohemian diet was to be divided into a German curia and a Czechish curia, each of which was to possess the full powers of a separate House, though the members of the two curiae were to sit and debate together. Furthermore the provincial educational council (*Landesschulrat*), the provincial agricultural council (*Landescultural*), and the supreme court were each to be divided into two national sections. This compromise was not carried out, owing to the opposition of the Young Czechs in the diet. Knowing that such a division of the country would prevent eventual autonomy and independence for Bohemia, Gregř and his followers carried on a fiery campaign against it, and, by isolating the Old Czechs, succeeded in preventing the passage of the necessary laws in the diet.

Failing in his scheme of reconciliation, Taaffe persuaded the emperor to dissolve the Reichsrat and order new elections. In these the Young Czechs made noteworthy gains and reduced the number of Old Czech representatives to ten. Social Democrats, too, appeared for the first time with a programme, but failed to gain any seats. When the Reichsrat came together, Taaffe frankly admitted that he had no majority, and consequently it was agreed to by all that irritating questions should be laid aside and attention directed to such material reforms as were proposed in the address from the throne. Tariff treaties with Italy, Germany, and Switzerland were negotiated in 1892; bills were passed regulating taxation and currency reform; and treaty projects with Rumania and Russia were discussed. In the midst of these considerations the ministry was forced to take action regarding Bohemia, where the Young Czechs, determined at all cost to defeat the compromise, were becoming unusually unruly and were indulging in demonstrations of disgraceful violence in the Bohemian diet. Herr Funke was speaking on the bill for establishing a judicial circuit in the German district of Trautenau, when he was interrupted by the Young Czechs and forced from the platform. The president, fearing a personal attack upon himself, abruptly adjourned the House; but these scenes in the Chamber were followed by so much rioting in the streets of the city during August and September, 1892, that the government placed Prague in a minor state of siege and forbade assemblies to be gathered, parades to be organized, badges to be worn, and flags to be carried or displayed. It also suppressed many newspapers of a socialistic character and dissolved many Czechish societies, notably the National Liberal Party Club, to which the Young Czechish members of Parliament belonged.

At the opening of the Reichsrat in October, 1892, Taaffe introduced a bill for electoral reform which practically conceded universal suffrage.

The aim of the government was, as Taaffe said in introducing the measure, to make the exercise of the franchise possible to all who had fulfilled their duties under the law. The bill roused great wrath among the German Liberals, who declared that it "would crush the middle classes between the aristocracy and the proletariat, and shatter the pillars of the Austrian empire—namely, the German element—into ruins." But the measure pleased the Social Democrats and the laboring classes, who showed their satisfaction in public demonstrations. A deadlock ensued; it did not seem probable to the ministry that under the existing electoral system a new election would bring relief, and as the situation had become so involved that no remedy was at hand except a dissolution of the Reichsrat, Count Taaffe sent in his resignation, and the emperor called Prince Windischgrätz to organize a coalition ministry.

The Windischgrätz government, formed as a temporary stop-gap, lasted two years. It, too, was compelled to face the question of universal suffrage, the leading question at this time in Austria. The Social Democrats, the great mass of the working population, the Czechs, and many of the Liberals were constantly agitating in its favor. In 1893 meetings were held at which resolutions were adopted favoring the extension of the franchise. In 1894 twenty-one meetings were held by the Social Democrats in Vienna alone, and many of them were largely attended. Throughout the country the demands increased; talk of a general strike was heard; in Bohemia and Ruthenia, where social democracy had made rapid headway, petitions were drawn up for general, equal, and direct suffrage, and the demand was repeated elsewhere in no uncertain way. Prince Windischgrätz, forced to consider the issue, sought a way out of the difficulty by drafting a compromise. Taaffe would have extended the suffrage to every citizen who was able to read or write or had fulfilled his legal obligations; Windischgrätz, however, could not do this. He proposed to add to the existing four groups of electors a fifth, which should include all the members of mutual benefit societies—that is, the workmen of the towns—and all Austrian subjects who had paid direct taxes for two years, by which latter provision every peasant who cultivated a plot of ground would receive the franchise. This fifth group was to vote for only forty-three delegates to the Reichsrat, so that, although the electors would be vastly increased by this measure, the actual increase of representatives would be small. The bill satisfied no one, unless it were the Clericals and Conservatives under the lead of Hohenwart; Dr. Adler, Bebel, and others spoke against it at a great meeting held in March, 1894; while on the other side, the Poles and German Liberals rejected it entirely. The matter was not, however,

brought to a vote; for the position of the ministry, dependent as it was on the unnatural union of German Liberals, Poles, and Conservatives, was at best precarious. It was not the question of franchise, but that of nationality, that led finally to the overthrow of Windischgrätz. In June, 1895, the ministry declared its purpose of establishing classes in the Slovenian language in the high-school of the town of Cilli in Steiermark. But such encouragement given to the national languages was bitterly opposed by the Germans, and at once and in a body they withdrew from the coalition, thus breaking up the ministerial majority. On June 18 Windischgrätz handed in his resignation, and a provisional cabinet was formed by Count Kielmansegg, an able administrator, an opponent of the Anti-Semites, and a Protestant. But this ministry was not permanent, and did little or nothing except pass the Slovenian high-school bill. On September 14, 1895, the Badeni ministry was gazetted.

The new minister (Fig. 77) was a Pole, and could count on the support of the Clerical, Conservative, and Polish parties. His programme,



FIG. 77. Count Badeni.

which was published in October, announced his determination to stand by the German element while holding himself ready to meet the just demands of all the nationalities, and to effect a reconciliation if possible between them; and it also committed the ministry to the promotion of electoral reform and the renewal of the *Ausgleich* with Hungary. The Germans assumed at first an attitude of critical watchfulness; while the Young Czechs, who by the withdrawal of the Old Czechs from politics had become the only Czechish representatives in the Reichsrat, waited expectantly. Finally in February, 1896, Count

Badeni presented to the Parliament his bill for the reform of the suffrages. As in the case of the Windischgrätz measure, the new bill proposed to create a new fifth group of electors, but it differed from its model in two important particulars: it increased the representatives of the group from 43 to 72, and threw open the franchise to all male citizens not provided for in the other four classes, who had attained the age of twenty-four years and had had an independent residence in the district extending over six months. The measure further reduced the total

number of representatives, giving to the first group of electors—the large landed proprietors—85 representatives; to the second, the towns, 118; to the third, the chambers of commerce and industry, 21; and to the fourth, the rural communes, 129. The plan was distinctly a compromise between the landed and propertied interests and universal suffrage; but it received the support of the ministerial parties and also of the German Liberals and Young Czechs, and became a law in June, 1896.

During these six years from 1890 to 1896, Hungary had been advancing along democratic and laical lines and had grown in wealth and national unity. In 1890 Tisza resigned. He had ruled Hungary like a dictator for fourteen years; but now, finding his colleagues opposed to



FIG. 78.—Dr. Wekerle.

him on the question of a bill by which he proposed to abrogate the law that expatriated Louis Kossuth, he left the ministry. His place was taken by Szapáry; but the new minister, becoming involved first in an attempt to rearrange the administration of the counties, and then in a violent struggle over the relations between church and state in Hungary, retired in November. The king then summoned Dr. Wekerle (Fig. 78), one of Hungary's ablest financiers and the first minister-president not connected with the aristocracy. His régime is famous as inaugurating the real religious struggle or *kulturkampf* in Hungary. Obligatory civil marriage was the chief issue; and the clergy, aristocracy, and Conserva-

tives generally fought it with every resource at command. The bishops in conference and pastorals condemned it, and the Table of Magnates placed themselves on record against it before any measure had been brought forward. The various reforms advocated by Wekerle were as follows: the civil registration of births, marriages, and deaths; the recognition of the Jewish religion; freedom of worship to all religious denominations in Hungary; and finally, the reform of the marriage laws through compulsory civil marriage and through the allowance of mixed marriages, in which cases the religion of the children was to be agreed upon before the marriage, or, if this were neglected, then the children were to follow the religion of the father. So hot became the conflict that Dr. Wekerle, feeling that he had not the entire confidence of the emperor, resigned. Efforts to form a cabinet on a compromise and fusion platform failed, and in 1895 Baron Bánffy (Fig. 79), president of



FIG. 79.—Baron Bánffy.

the Chamber of Deputies and a staunch Liberal, was called with the understanding that the Wekerle programme was to be carried out. This was a great victory for the Liberal party; the fight was renewed, and the bills, though somewhat mutilated, were passed during the year. A sharp tilt with the papal nuncio had the unfortunate effect of involving Bánffy in a dispute with the imperial foreign minister, Kálnoky, in consequence of which the latter resigned his office in May, 1895. The increasing importance of Hungary among civilized nations was made evident in 1896, when that country held a millennial exposition to celebrate the thousandth anniversary of the birth of the nation. This exhibition added

to the reputation Hungary had already won as a liberal state with a true parliamentary government, by disclosing the great progress she had made in industry and manufactures, in art, architecture, and education.

During the years from 1895 to 1897, efforts were made to prepare the way for a renewal for another ten years of the *Ausgleich*. Preliminary conferences of Austrian and Hungarian ministers were held, correspondence was carried on, and special commissions were appointed by the respective legislatures. On many points, especially touching the commercial relations and the bank union, agreements were reached; but on the question of the proportion each should pay of the quota, no decision was attained. This proportion of expenditure, which is employed to maintain the army, navy, consular and diplomatic service, had been fixed in 1867 at 70 per cent. for Austria and 30 per cent. for Hungary; but when the Military Frontier had been added to Croatia in 1881, this had been modified to 68.6 for Austria and 31.4 for Hungary. But Austria, who had already made many concessions, now demanded that Hungary pay a larger proportion of the common charge; but Hungary refused, a deadlock ensued, and the union was maintained only by provisional agreement.

During 1897, while this matter was under discussion, its successful consideration was rendered impossible by the disgraceful conflict in the Austrian Reichsrat over the "language decrees" that Count Badeni had introduced in April of that year. The ministry, in order to retain the support of the Czechs in the Reichsrat, had been forced to commit itself on the language question; for the elections that had been held in March had proved extraordinary, both in the scenes at the polls and in the results of the voting, whereby some seventeen party groups or clubs found representation in the Reichsrat. Badeni's measures proposed to grant the use of the two languages—German and Czech—in Bohemia, requiring that after seven years all officials should be acquainted with both languages, and that in courts of justice either language should be used, according to the wish of the party concerned. The German Liberals were enraged at this proposal. In Bohemia the war was fought out among the people in their homes, offices, and in the streets; peasants, villagers, townsfolk, all to a greater or less extent were involved. In the Reichsrat, the German Nationalists and Social Democrats obstructed the regular parliamentary procedure at every point. Interminable lists of petitions were read, and the division called on each; Dr. Lecher spoke for twelve hours at a stretch; in May, and again in October, such tactics led to hot words and even to blows—circumstances that made impossible the passage of measures for the provisional renewal of

the *Ausgleich*. The Hungarian Parliament did its part, but the Austrian body did nothing. Motion after motion was made for the impeachment of Count Badeni; and finally, continued obstruction and violence having led to the passage of a police measure—the *lex Falkenhayn*, afterward pronounced unconstitutional by the supreme court—which cost Badeni a part of his support, the premier resigned. He was followed by Baron von Gautsch, who was placed in this position for the sole purpose of checking the race war by effecting some sort of compromise between the parties. But the desire for national autonomy increased during 1897 and 1898. It spread throughout Cisleithania, and even across the Leitha, where Croat and Ruthenian were speaking in more emphatic terms. Gautsch framed a modification of the language ordinances in March, 1898, but it was not acceptable to either Germans or Czechs; and in consequence of this, and of a difficulty over the *Ausgleich* with Baron Bánffy, he resigned.

What with growing social discontent, Anti-Semitism, the wars of the races, and the scenes in the Reichsrat, Austria seemed to be in a condition of inextricable confusion. Count Thun, who succeeded Baron von Gautsch, had, as his chief tasks, to find a *modus vivendi* between Germans and Czechs, to conclude some arrangement with Hungary for a continuation of the union, to check the disgraceful obstruction acts in the Reichsrat and the local diets which had become of so frequent occurrence, to increase provincial autonomy, and to fortify the dynastic sentiment and loyalty to the crown. The situation was difficult; the intensity of the race conflict showed no signs of abating; attempts of Count Thun to hold conferences in June, 1898, came to nothing, for the German Nationalists were looking to the German empire, the Czechs to Russia; and it seemed as if the different attitudes could not be reconciled. At last, when, after the Reichsrat had resumed its session on September 26, the scenes of violence were renewed, and Schönerer and Wolf on one side and the Poles on the other had blackguarded each other and turned the sitting into a street brawl, the emperor, taking advantage of his power under article 14 of the constitution, prorogued Parliament indefinitely and extended the union with Hungary for six months by imperial rescript.

Matters had been running far from smoothly in Hungary, where Bánffy had been struggling with the Ultramontanes and the Independents or Separatists, the latter of whom did not desire to see the *Ausgleich* renewed, any more than did the Anti-Semites in Austria wish the union to be preserved. In January, 1899, Bánffy, feeling that he would fail if he persisted, resigned the premiership in favor of Koloman Szell,

The *Ausgleich* continued the paramount issue, and Szell contributed much toward the compromise which was effected in December, 1902. After more than two hundred conferences, beginning as far back as 1895, an agreement was finally reached by the delegations through the personal interposition of the Emperor-King. During the latter years of the negotiations, the great difficulty was no longer over the question or the political aspect of the compromise, but rather over the difficulties arising out of the divergent economic interests of the two countries. Austrian interests are mainly industrial, while those of Hungary are agricultural. Austria wants protection for her manufactures and free trade in grain; Hungary naturally demands exactly the opposite. The *Ausgleich*, as now agreed upon, was a compromise measure, both grain and manufactured articles being subjected to a high tariff. It should be noted, however, that the agreement had still to be submitted to the separate parliaments, and by the end of 1904 it had not been ratified.

Another question which aroused much opposition in Hungary was the proposal to increase the army. Before Hungary would give her consent, she demanded the separation of the Hungarian army from the Austrian, the use of the Hungarian flag, and the employment of the Magyar language in military orders. Premier Szell refused to yield and resigned. He was succeeded by Hedervary, who was likewise unable to solve the difficulty despite the visit of the emperor to Buda-Pesth in the interest of harmony. His resignation in 1903 was followed by the appointment of Count Tisza. The new premier proved himself a determined leader, but he failed to stop the obstructionist tactics, and a second year of legislative inactivity ensued. Finally he secured the adoption of the *Lex Daniel* by which the opposition was temporarily checked, and the recruiting bill, a measure for supplies, and the indemnity bill were passed. But the opposition, led by Kossuth, Apponyi, and Bánffy, became so violent that the premier determined upon dissolution in December, 1904. The election proved to be one of the most passionate in the history of Hungary and resulted in the defeat of the government.

On the side of Austria the language question and the extreme demands of the Young Czechs for the national rights of Bohemia were added to the difficulties arising from the *Ausgleich*. In 1898 a momentary calm in the political warfare followed the tragic death of the empress at the hands of an assassin in Switzerland, but it was of short duration. In September, 1899, Count Thun resigned and was succeeded by Count Clary, the head of a purely business cabinet appointed for the purpose of securing from the Reichsrat the election of the members of the Austrian delegation. In order to prevent obstruction in so important a matter, Count Clary promised to effect the repeal of the language ordinances, on the ground that they were destroying the effi-

ciency of Parliament. In consequence of this, the Czech party rose in revolt; riots, street conflicts, and tumultuous demonstrations took place in Bohemia, and the Czech party in the Reichsrat began to play the part of obstructionists. As the emperor threatened to resort again to article 14, Count Clary resigned, declaring that he could not serve under such conditions. A provisional ministry was appointed, which gave way on January 19, 1900, to a regular cabinet under Dr. Körber. The new premier, having succeeded in obtaining an election of the Austrian contingent to the delegations, bent all his efforts upon the one great problem that the languages presented. Conferences were held by him with Bohemian and Moravian delegates, and in the discussions a willingness to compromise for the good of the dynasty and the empire became evident. In consequence of these meetings, a measure was framed providing for a division of the country into three groups or districts—German, Czech, and mixed. But the plan failed to meet with approval, especially among the Germans.

With the dissolution of the Reichsrat by imperial rescript on September 7, 1900, and the summoning of the electoral groups to choose in the January following a new Parliament, a constitutional crisis in Austria became imminent. Francis Joseph declared in a speech made to a Polish parliamentary deputation, a week or two after the dissolution, that the dissolution of the Reichsrat and the new elections were the last constitutional means that the government would employ; implying that, if the new body proved no better than the old, he would suspend the constitution. The elections were held in January, 1901, and the Reichsrat was formally opened by the emperor on the 31st of the month. Of all the parties, the Clericals and Anti-Semites suffered the greatest defeat, having fallen a third in their membership; while the National Extremists, the Pan-Germans, and the Young Czechs gained at the expense of the Social Democrats. Since the German groups acting together could command 60 votes, and the victory of the Young Czechs served only to strengthen their natural opponents, this result seemed ominous for peace. The emperor, feeling the danger that confronted the body, made an earnest appeal on the opening of the Reichsrat that the members should "abandon the sterile and mischievous racial strife that had been productive of so much evil." He declared that the legislative body should consider harmoniously industrial, economic, and social reforms, and should no longer, by the continued strife of nationalities, hinder the moral and material development of the empire. The emperor's influence seemed, however, to have diminished; only Clericals and Anti-Semites greeted the speech with approval. When the session was scarcely under way and while negotiations looking to a compromise on the language question were being carried on among the government, the president of the



Fig. 80.—Emperor Francis Joseph.

Reichsrat, and the party leaders, the Pan-Germans and Czechs indulged once more in violent and obstructive proceedings. Because some of the Czechs attempted to block business by making speeches in their own language, the Pan-German group attacked the Czech benches, and a disgraceful fight ensued. It was some time before the president could adjourn the sitting. Similar scenes continued to be enacted: a Czech deputy attempted to post a Czech placard; another seized a paper from the vice-president's desk and destroyed it; in each case a conflict between Radical Germans and Radical Czechs followed.

The government, however, acted with the utmost forbearance, and peace was soon obtained. The emperor came to a truce with the Young Czechs, whereby they agreed to cease their obstructive tactics, while at by-elections held in April and again early in July the Anti-Semites, led by Dr. Lüger, suffered a noteworthy defeat at the hands of a coalition of the Pan-Germans and the Social Democrats. The government's concessions to the Czechs were of a strictly economic, and not at all of a political, character, and did not therefore arouse the wrath of the Germans, as had been the case in previous concessions. Though the Radical Czechs, five in number, refused to be conciliated, and at a meeting in Prague in April declared war on the government, the emperor, carrying out a promise to visit Prague, journeyed through Bohemia from June 12 to 17, and was everywhere received with demonstrations of loyalty and affection.

In spite of the hostility of the Radical Czechs, the situation during the new session proved to be very different from that which had preceded. A feeling of reconciliation was prevalent. In fact, the Reichsrat which ended in June, 1901, proved exceedingly efficient and accomplished more in the way of wholesome legislation than had any since the days of Taaffe. Dr. Körber showed himself to be a tactful leader, and succeeded in carrying without serious opposition many important measures of benefit to the kingdom. Noteworthy among these was an act creating a comprehensive canal system to connect the Danube with the other large rivers, measures for the extension of the railway system, the abolition of some of the most irksome of the custom duties, and the improvement of the conditions of labor. The defeat of the Anti-Semites and Clericals had been a distinct gain, while the visit of the emperor to Bohemia had, for the moment at least, calmed the political unrest in that land. But the parliamentary calm by no means implied a reconciliation of the conflicting interests in the Austrian part of the dual monarchy. The difficulties were too deep-seated. The actions of Czechs, Germans, Italians, and Croats, in the provincial diets of Bohemia, Istria, and Tyrol, disclosed the persistence

of the national rivalries; the new German tariff measure with its increased duties was arousing among Austrian statesmen a desire to retaliate; such questions as the budget, the compromise with Hungary, and the language difficulty remained, and when in 1902 they again came up for settlement, the seriousness of the situation soon manifested itself. The opposition of the Czechs was resumed, and throughout 1903-4 the obstructionists were successful in preventing the government from carrying out its programme. No important legislation was passed, not even the indemnity bill, and the taxes had to be collected on the authority of imperial ordinances.

Thus there was added to the tremendous problems inherent in the union of so many different peoples and languages in Austria-Hungary, the difficulty over procedure, which characterized the parliamentary sessions of nearly all the governments of Europe during this period. In the dual monarchy, through the continuance of antiquated rules of order and the desire to foster individual liberty at all costs, minorities in both the Hungarian and Austrian parliaments successfully defeated the will of the majority for several years. But the basic difficulty lay in the differences and jealousies of so many nationalities, intensified, as in the case of Hungary, by particular economic interests which made the renewal of the *Ausgleich* well-nigh impossible. There is, moreover, a growing feeling among the Slavs of the dual monarchy that the present political dualism must sooner or later give way to a federalism, in which the other units, particularly Bohemia, will be admitted on a basis of equality with the two elements, German and Magyar, now in control.

In Italy the death of Depretis brought Crispi (Fig. 81) to the front as the head of the ministry, and a period of autocratic rule followed. Though originally a Radical, Crispi had become a loyal defender of the monarchy, an upholder of the triple alliance, and an enemy of all revolutionary uprisings in the kingdom. He forbade the holding of a meeting on the anniversary of the Roman republic, and another in honor of Mazzini. He dissolved an Irredentist committee at Rome, and held under strict surveillance all attempts to inaugurate labor demonstrations. He was charged with inhumanity by the labor orators, and was thoroughly hated by royalists and Radicals alike. Yet in May, 1890, he received a vote of confidence in Parliament by a large majority, and found a corresponding support in the elections that were held in September of that year. The cause of his resignation seems trivial to one who does not understand the nature of party groups in the Italian Parliament. In the course of a speech on a measure concerning the increase of certain taxes or duties, Crispi charged the Minghetti ministry of the

period before 1876 with pursuing a servile policy toward foreign powers, and followed up this unwise statement with another reflecting on his predecessor. These remarks gave great offence and led to an adverse vote in the Chamber. Crispi therefore resigned, and was succeeded by Rudini (Fig. 82), of the Right, who took up what was practically his predecessor's foreign policy, but followed a more rigorous course in the matter of expenses. He cut down salaries, restricted the colonial area, and reduced the number of projected railroad lines. But his efforts were only moderately successful, though the deficit was slightly dimin-

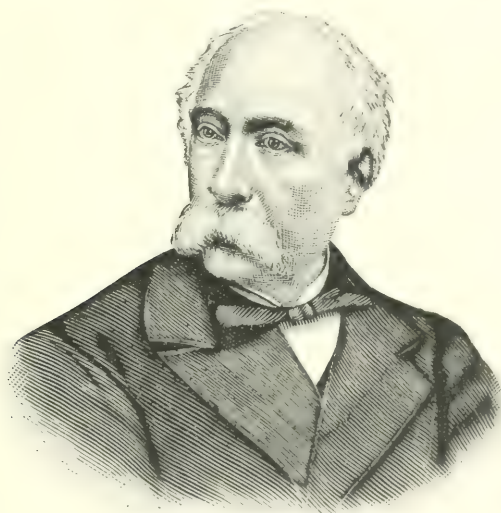


FIG. 81.—Crispi.

ished; and in April, 1892, in consequence of an adverse vote, Rudini resigned.

The place of Rudini was taken by Giolitti, of the Left, who found himself confronted with many difficult problems in addition to those of the deficit and the colonies. For a short time the breach of diplomatic relations with the United States, on account of the lynching of a number of Italians in New Orleans, seemed likely to lead to more serious trouble; but the satisfactory treatment of the subject by President Harrison in his message to Congress, and the offer of \$25,000 as indemnity, led to the resumption of cordial relations between the two states. Much more serious were the disturbances in Sicily, due to economic distress and discontent and to excited appeals of socialistic leaders. In many quarters brigandage and lawlessness existed unrestrained, and secret associations

acted boldly in encouraging crime ; and so great was the unrest in Sicily that during December, 1892, nearly 40,000 soldiers were sent to the island, and the next year it was placed in a state of siege, expedients that availed little. But more closely affecting Italy's good name were the scandals arising in connection with the Banca Romana, which was discovered to have exceeded its legal issue of bank-notes by 64,500,000 lire. When further investigation seemed to implicate party leaders, a Parliamentary investigation was demanded, in consequence of which Giolitti received the censure of the investigating committee. He



FIG. 82. -Rudini.

resigned at once, and the king sought a successor in Zanardelli, president of the Chamber, also a leader of the Left. But Zanardelli, after a ten days' trial, failed in his effort to organize a cabinet, largely because the king was determined to respect Austrian susceptibilities in the choice of a foreign minister. Humbert then turned to Crispi, who, though also concerned in the bank scandals, was believed to be innocent morally and the only man for the present emergency. Crispi, having formed an excellent cabinet, announced his determination of putting an end to all agrarian and socialistic movements in Sicily and elsewhere in the kingdom, of meeting the financial situation frankly and honestly, and of standing loyally by the king and the dynasty.

Crispi was soon called upon to carry out his programme. Rioting in Sicily began in January, 1894 ; buildings were destroyed, jails broken

open, and prisoners released. The causes for the revolt were heavy taxes, oppression on the part of land-owners and municipal authorities, the tyranny and corruption of officials, and the influence of socialistic and anarchistic sympathizers. Crispi sent General Morra to Sicily, proclaimed martial law, and soon had the movement under control. But an uprising of the anarchistic marble-workers at Carrara proved more serious than the Sicilian revolt, and it was not until several pitched battles had been fought and a state of siege proclaimed on January 3, 1894, that this rebellion was suppressed. Those who were found guilty were harshly dealt with: the socialistic deputy, de Felici, was sentenced to eighteen years for conspiracy and incitement to civil war, while others were sent to prison for two, three, five, ten, and twelve years. The entire year was characterized by anarchistic movements in France and Austria, as well as in Italy; but Italy especially seemed to be the home of the wretched fanatics, and furnished assassins first of Carnot, and afterward of Canovas, the empress of Austria, and her own King Humbert. In June, 1894, the Parliament adopted strict measures dealing with the use of explosives in crime, the employment of the press for the purpose of inciting to crime, and the enforcement of a fixed residence, under the eye of the police, for persons who were considered dangerous to the community. The methods which Crispi employed, military and dictatorial in character, in suppressing these uprisings, and the charges that Giolitti persisted in bringing against him touching his connection with the Banca Romana, made his position constantly insecure; but he refused to withdraw, and after the prorogation of Parliament in December, 1894, he continued to rule without Parliament and almost as dictator. When in May and June, 1895, the general elections were held, it was found that 366 Ministerialists had been returned, as against 155 of the opposition. This was a great tribute to the power of Crispi's personal influence, and bore witness to the confidence vested in him by the Italian people.

Crispi's position seemed secure, but disaster in the colonies overthrew him. In 1894, all the colonial possessions in Africa having been consolidated under the single name Erythrea, Crispi urged on the governor, Baratieri, to extend Italy's influence into the borderland of Abyssinia. In July, 1894, Baratieri occupied and garrisoned the town of Kassala and prepared to advance against the Tigrin chief, Ras Mangascia. On January 13, 1895, he won a notable victory at Coatit and Senafch, and occupied the Tigré. But the war with Ras Mangascia drew Italy into a conflict with the negus Menelek of Shoa, who had been loyal to the Italians, and who now resented this attack upon his territory. The position of the Italians

was very insecure ; they were without adequate troops to cover the stretch of country they had occupied, and were consequently in danger of being surrounded and cut off in the Tigrin country. On December 7, 1895, this fate befell Major Toselli, who with fewer than 2000 men was attacked at Amba-Alagi by a body of 25,000 Abyssinians, and slain with the greater part of his troops. Step by step the Italians were driven out of the Tigré region, until finally but one stronghold, Makaleh, remained in the hands of the Italians. Here the Italian officers had determined to blow up the fort, rather than surrender ; but Menelek, already impressed with the bravery of his enemies and his own losses, offered to allow the



FIG. 83. General Baratieri.

Italian troops to withdraw with arms and baggage and all the honors of war. Makeleh then capitulated, and the troops withdrew to Adigrat. In the meantime the Italian government had waked to a realization of the situation, and had despatched reinforcements and asked for a credit of 7,000,000 lire from Parliament. But the facilities for transport inward from the coast proved insufficient, rations fell short, and cavalry was wanting. General Baratieri (Fig. 83), though acting on the defensive at first, finally decided to attack, and on February 29, 1896, advanced against the Abyssinians at Adowa. The battle which followed proved a disastrous and humiliating defeat for Italy. A third of the

troops was slain, two generals were killed, and two others captured, while hundreds of men were left in the hands of the Abyssinians. General Baratieri was replaced by General Baldissera and was afterward tried by court-martial but acquitted.

The fact that Italy's military reputation had thus been injured roused intense indignation at home, where it was felt that Crispi had allowed the country to become involved in a task for which adequate preparation had not been made. Crispi appreciated the situation, and on March 5, 1896, immediately after the arrival of the news, resigned without waiting for a vote of Parliament. Rudini took his place. The cry of the Right and of the Social Democrats was for the abandonment of the whole colonial territory; but Rudini, knowing that the people would not sanction such a move, announced that the aggressive policy would be given up and the colonial territory restricted. After long and wearisome negotiation regarding the release of the prisoners, a treaty of peace was arranged with Menelek on October 26, 1896, in accordance with which the treaty of 1889 was abrogated, the protectorate given up, and the entire independence of Abyssinia recognized; the prisoners were declared free, and an indemnity of 2,000,000 lire was promised. Later, the boundary was run along the Maret, Belesa, and Muna rivers, all land south of that line was relinquished, and Kassala returned to Egypt. By this act Erythrea became a civil and commercial colony; and it was estimated that a saving of 20,000,000 lire would be effected, and that in time the Erythrean budget would be reduced to 5,000,000 lire a year.

But notwithstanding this change in the colonial policy, the Rudini ministry did not have the full respect of the country. Riots took place in Rome on account of the injustice and inequality of the *ricchezza mobile*, which involved new methods of taxing incomes and personal property; and an unfortunate conflict between the people and the troops resulted in the killing of two persons and the wounding of many more. The government ordered assessors to correct all errors, and not to increase assessments until they had ascertained that the taxpayers' income had increased. Rudini sought further to conciliate the Left by issuing certain anti-clerical circulars forbidding the clergy to use the churches for political meetings. But despite all these efforts the cabinet gained nothing in strength and security, and finally resigned. Immediately the king instructed Rudini to form a new cabinet, which he did with Zanardelli as minister of justice.

This ministry was called upon to face one of the most serious crises in the history of modern Italy. In 1898 the Italians, already impoverished by taxation, and in the south injured by the working of the

American tariff policy, were suddenly confronted with a startling and unexpected rise in the price of bread and flour, due to the Hispano-American war. Revolts broke out in Sicily, where in January, 1898, peasants and laborers invaded the town hall at Siculiana, crying, "Bread and work." The rapid spread of the movement showed that other influences were at work besides the desire for bread and work; cries for food were accompanied with cries for social reform. The government rather lamely began to make concessions. It reduced the duty on breadstuffs, lowered 50 per cent. the railway and maritime carrying-charges, and called for subscriptions to allay the suffering. But the movement soon began to assume a political character, and its spread along the line of the railroad from Brindisi northward showed that previous preparations had been made among associations of navvies, railroad employees, and workmen. The knowledge, tactical strategy, and discipline of the rioters also disclosed previous training. From Brindisi to Molfetta, Foggia, Chieti, Ascoli-Piceno, Pesaro, Rimini, Ravenna, Ferrara, Cremona, Piacenza, and Milan, the wave of insurrection moved, receiving new impetus all the while from republican and socialistic propaganda and the preaching and teaching of the clergy: the unholy alliance between Radicals and Ultramontanes. From the 6th to the 11th of May, Milan was a veritable battle-ground. On one side were peasants with scythes and hatchets, workmen with rifles, hurling tiles and stones from house-tops and from behind barricades; on the other were the government cavalry and infantry, charging and volleying through the streets of the city. The government showed commendable energy in repressing the revolt, but the advantage thus gained was neutralized by the widespread feeling that the ministry, by playing with the Radical and Socialist support in the Chamber, had encouraged the movement. It was no surprise, therefore, that the situation in June was such as to lead first to a reorganization of the ministry, and then to its resignation altogether. In such a crisis Conservatives like Visconti Venosta, minister of foreign affairs, could hardly pull amicably with Republicans like Zanardelli, minister of justice.

That which brought about this disintegration was the bill for public safety, due to the need of taking some repressive measures in view of the recent riots. In its complete form this measure included several bills prohibiting public meetings, dissolving all associations dangerous to the public welfare, preventing strikes among public employees, and authorizing the prosecution of all seditious newspapers. Consideration of these questions had brought about the downfall of the Rudini fusion cabinet. In June, 1898, General Pelloux (Fig. 84), who was

a soldier, not a politician, took the premiership and formed a straight Liberal ministry. At the outset he presented a vigorous programme, announcing his determination to maintain peace and order at home, to protect society and its institutions, and to pacify the public mind; and in foreign matters to adhere to a policy of cordial relations with all friendly and allied powers. This programme he proceeded to carry out slowly, and consequently presented only that part of the public-safety measure which was least likely to create friction, omitting all that had to do with freedom of the press and the right of association. On July 12 the Parliament passed this portion of the measure. The ministry also inflicted heavy punishments upon the Sicilian and Milanese rioters; and in September, when



FIG. 84. General Pelloux.

a wave of anarchism seemed to sweep not only over Italy, but over France and Austria as well, proposed to the other governments the calling of an international conference to consider measures for the repression of anarchy. This conference met at Rome, November 24, 1898, and sat until December 22. The agreements reached between the delegates on many important questions were of such a character as to render police regulations more precise and mandatory, and international communications between the countries more efficient in all cases where the Anarchists were of the fanatical type.

Italy's relations with France, which had been strained since the Tunis controversy and the formation of the triple alliance, were rendered more cordial by the arrangement of a commercial convention with that country, whereby France conceded to Italy the benefits of her minimum tariff except on silks, and Italy admitted France to her regular conventional system. The treaty, which was finally ratified by the two countries in January and February, 1899, was one greatly desired by the Radicals, who saw in it a step away from the triple alliance. But the happy consummation of this result was somewhat neutralized by the effect of the government's policy in China, where Italy sought to obtain a sphere of influence by demanding the lease of Sanmun Bay with a

land basis similar to that obtained by Germany at Kiao-Chow. Italy's request was refused and her note returned to her, and this rather humiliating check led to the reorganization of the Pelloux ministry in May, 1899. To the general surprise this reorganization took a strongly Conservative turn, due to the feeling on General Pelloux's part that he would have to look to Conservative support in the future wherewith to carry through his measures.

The new cabinet showed itself to be firm and adroit, even though it was called upon to face scenes in the Chamber unequalled for their violence in the history of the kingdom. The cause of this uproar was the introduction of the remainder of the public-safety measures, the mere discussion of which had broken up two Rudini ministries. When the bills were brought before the Chamber, the Socialists of the Left at once began a systematic obstruction of all legislative business; and when it was found impossible to pass the measures, the king on June 22, 1899, prorogued Parliament for six days in order that he might promulgate the measure by royal decree. This was in fact a suspension of the constitution, and by many in the opposition it was considered questionable whether the constitution permitted such a suspension in matters concerning the liberty of the subject. However, after Parliament had come together, it sanctioned the measure by passing a bill of indemnity on the 28th. Through all these proceedings the Socialists continued their obstructionist tactics, and finally in excess of anger attacked the voting urns—an act rendering the guilty ones liable to imprisonment for twelve years. Immediately the king closed the session. But the government, not wishing to bring the Socialist deputies to trial, caused Parliament to be summoned, thus saving the deputies from arrest. However, on February 20, 1900, the court of cassation adjudged the decree unconstitutional, and in April the government withdrew the public-safety measure altogether, but without improving much the situation; for when the ministry demanded certain changes in the standing rules, that would give to future presidents of the Chamber the power to call in the police to expel obstructionists, as a compensation for the withdrawal of the public-safety measure, the Socialists became more violent than before and did all in their power to obstruct the course of Parliamentary government. The king, therefore, dissolved Parliament on May 16, 1900. The events of the year had disclosed in Italy, as they had also done in Austria and France, a marked increase in the employment of obstructionist tactics, which were bringing Parliamentary organization into disrepute and turning men's minds to the thought of constitutional revision. The character of the Italian Parliament had degenerated since the days of

the supremacy of the Right before 1876, when men like Minghetti, Sella, and Menabrea were in control.

In other particulars the Pelloux ministry had shown itself honest and fearless and had inspired confidence. In May, 1899, it had crushed out a band of blackmailing brigands in Sardinia, and in March, 1900, by seizing in one day forty-four leaders of the Mafia society in Messina, had done much to lessen crime in Naples and Sicily. In November, Palizzolo, a deputy who wielded an important influence over the Mafia in Sicily, was brought up for trial on the charge of moral responsibility for a murder committed by Mafia agents. With the lessening of brigandage and crime, a marvellous advance in industry, culture, and education took place. A very satisfactory showing in finances, too, seemed due not so much to a decrease of expenditure as to the improved condition of the country and the more regular incoming of receipts.

The new elections, held on June 3 and 10, showed an unexpected gain on the part of the extreme Left. When, by the middle of June, the final returns were in, it was discovered that the Ministerialists had gained about 300 seats, the Constitutional opposition 110, while the representatives of the extreme Left had increased from 67 to 94, of whom 29 were Republicans, 33 Radicals, and 32 Socialists. The success of the Radical and Republican groups seems to have been due to their excellent organization and to their tireless efforts to influence voters, in neither of which particulars did the Ministerial party display exceptional energy or enthusiasm. The revision in the electoral law of 1882 effected by Crispi, which reduced the registered voters from nearly 3,000,000 in 1892 to 2,190,000 in 1897, the apathy of many electors who abstained from voting, and the want of organization among the Constitutionalists gave a remarkable victory to the revolutionary elements and probably encouraged the Radical tendencies in the kingdom. The resignation of the Pelloux ministry in the new Parliament of June 17, immediately after organization had been effected by the election of a president of the Chamber, was due partly to the narrow majority—only thirty votes—obtained by the government's candidate for the presidency, partly to the fear that a Conservative ministry would not be able to work in accord with the large majority controlled by the opposition groups. King Humbert accepted the resignation of the ministry and called upon the president of the Senate, Saracco, a Moderate Liberal of unquestioned ability, to form a cabinet. Saracco gathered about him men of his own party, and also three members of the Right—Visconti Venosta, foreign affairs; Rubini, treasury; Chimirri, finance. The policy of the new ministry became markedly conciliatory, and the prospect of a cessation

of obstruction and a devotion to legislative business seemed bright. On July 9, after inaugurating important and urgent business, Parliament adjourned.

During the intermission a tragic event took place. King Humbert (Fig. 85), who had accepted the invitation of the Provincial Athletic Club to be present on July 29 at Monza near Milan, and preside over the distribution of prizes, while entering his carriage to return to the royal palace, was assassinated by an Anarchist named Bresci. This crime against a man who for twenty-two years had devoted all his ener-



FIG. 85.—Humbert I.

gies to the welfare of Italy roused the indignation of the world, and in Italy stimulated an unusual outburst of enthusiastic regard for the monarchy. The assassin, an Italian who had lived for three years in the United States, seems to have had no other motive than to "execute" a monarch. Like others of the same class, the crime was without influence on the course of events, except in so far as it strengthened the hands both of monarchy and the conservative classes. King Humbert was succeeded by his only son, the Prince of Naples, who ascended the throne as Victor Emmanuel III. (PLATE IX.). The new king, hitherto

PLATE IX



Victor Emmanuel III, King of Italy.

Portrait by Antonio V. V. (1911)

little known even to his own people and still less to the diplomats of Europe, had been at first distinctly undervalued; but by his proclamation from Monza, August 3, in which he pledged himself to maintain the institutions made sacred by the traditions of his house, he aroused a feeling of confidence confirmed by later events. When on August 11, in the presence of the members of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, he took the oath of fidelity to the constitution, he said: "Sacred was the word of the magnanimous Charles Albert, who granted liberty, sacred that of Victor Emmanuel II., who accomplished the union of Italy, sacred also the word of my august father, who in every act of his life showed himself a worthy heir of the virtues of the father of his country. May monarchy and Parliament go hand in hand. Unabashed and steadfast I ascend the throne, conscious of my rights and duties as a king. Let Italy have faith in me, as I have faith in the destinies of our country, and no human force shall destroy that which with such self-sacrifice our fathers have builded. It is necessary to keep watch and to employ every living force to guard intact the great conquests of unity and liberty. The serenest trust in our liberal constitution will never fail me, and I shall not be wanting either in strong initiative or in energy of action in vigorously defending our glorious institutions, precious heritage from our great dead. Brought up in the love of religion and of the fatherland, I take God to witness my promise that from this day forward I offer my heart, my mind, my life, to the grandeur of our land." The admiration and enthusiasm roused everywhere by this address promised a recrudescence of devotion to monarchy and the house of Savoy that presaged well for Italy. It was characteristic of the son of the fearless King Humbert, that on the night of August 12, hearing of a railway accident near Rome, in which the Grand Duke Peter of Russia and the grand duchess were concerned, Victor Emmanuel should have hastened from his palace with the queen, Helen of Montenegro, sister of the grand duchess, to take an active part in directing the work of rescue. If, after the speech from the throne, the deputies in the Chamber could say that a "king had come," the people who heard of or witnessed the scene at Castel Guibiles could add "there is a king of use."

Of regret for the death of Humbert or of interest in the accession of Victor Emmanuel III., the Vatican showed no sign. Leo XIII. had never recognized the right of the house of Savoy to the kingship of Italy, and the relations between the Quirinal and the Vatican seemed hopeless of adjustment. The pope's letter to the Italian bishops and people, complaining of the influence of Freemasonry, served only to call out the

assembling of Free-Masons in a great meeting in Naples on the 18th. Resistance to the reactionary efforts of clericalism and the Vatican was declared by the presiding officer of the meeting to be the moral duty of Free-Masons. In 1893, in an address to a body of pilgrims from Upper Italy, the pope protested against being called the enemy of Italy. During the next year, in a speech to his cardinals, he emphasized the need of greater watchfulness over Italy's religious condition. On September 20, 1895, during the Italian government's celebration of the anniversary of Rome's occupation, he issued an encyclical ordering special prayers to be said. On the same occasion he told a deputation of Catholic journalists that he was pleased with their courageous articles against "this celebration of the usurpation of Rome." Yet when in 1899 Leo XIII. proclaimed that, according to time-honored custom, the closing year of the century would be a year of jubilee, during which pilgrims would flock to Rome and contributions be offered in exchange for indulgences, the Italian government, by means of troops and police, did all in its power to preserve order and prevent conflicts. The jubilee year, which must have proved in every way satisfactory to the Vatican, ended on December 25, 1900, when Leo XIII., descending in a solemn procession from the Vatican, closed the Holy Door of St. Peter's by laying with a golden trowel three gilded bricks on the threshold. Other bricks having been laid by the Cardinal Penitentiary, the door was completely walled up by attendants. On January 8, 1901, the question of the temporal power of the pope was reopened. The Duke of Norfolk, leader of the English Roman Catholics, said in an address presented to the pope by a body of visiting English pilgrims: "We trust and pray that the new century may witness the restoration of the Roman pontiff to that position of temporal independence which your Holiness has declared necessary for the effective fulfilment of your world-wide charge." Leo XIII. in reply repeated a protest made in August, 1900, against the danger of a free propagation of Protestantism in Italy, especially in Rome, and declared that it was a grievous circumstance that for the twenty-five years of his pontificate "associations for religious propagation" had been able to take advantage of the "sad economic conditions of the country to corrupt the faith of the faithful." This reference to Protestantism in Rome indicated the desire of the pope to make Rome "the inviolate centre of Catholicism." Taken in conjunction with his encyclical on socialism, issued about the same time, and the refusal of the Roman Catholic congress at Lille in January to discuss questions of dogma, the reply of the pope to the Duke of Norfolk was significant of the adaptation of the church to the needs of the twentieth century. At a con-

PLATE IX.—I



Pope Pius X.

Hist. of the Vatican, Vol. XV, p. 247

sistory of April 15, Leo XIII., deeming the attack on the religious orders in France, Austria, Spain, and Portugal the most grievous danger at that time threatening the Roman Catholic Church, declared the age critical and prophesied that more serious struggles would come. He spoke particularly of the attempts to destroy the orders and to prevent the church from controlling the education of children. He said that the position of the pope was undignified and vexatious, and that the Socialists wished to profane the sanctity of Christian marriage and undermine the foundations of domestic life. Manifestly there was no hope of a reconciliation between the Vatican and the Italian government, so long as these views were held by the pope. But in July, 1903, Leo XIII. died, and on August 4 the Conclave elected as his successor Cardinal Sarto, the Patriarch of Venice, who at once assumed the papal office under the title of Pius X. During the first year of his pontificate questions of grave import arose, notably the break with France. With regard to Italy, a decided modification of the policy of Leo XIII. was apparent in the direction of more cordial relations with the Quirinal. By the end of 1904 it seemed as if the papacy were ready to give up its untenable demand for the restoration of its temporal power and to sanction the participation of its adherents in the political life of the nation.

The Saracco cabinet, which had begun auspiciously in June, 1900, proved itself unable to satisfy the Chamber on the questions of finance and labor. After the resignation of the minister of finance, Rubini, because of the unsatisfactory character of his budget statement, Saracco was defeated on a charge of tyranny in the strike troubles by a combination of Socialists and members of the Extreme Right, and his cabinet resigned in January. The king at once sent for Zanardelli, a member of the Left, who, at the age of seventy-two years, received for the second time the opportunity of reaching the goal of his ambition. In December, 1893, he had failed to form a cabinet; in his second attempt he was destined, after six days of laborious negotiations, to accomplish his purpose. With the exception of one member, Prinetti, minister for foreign affairs, from the Right, Zanardelli selected his colleagues from the Left. But notwithstanding this, the policy adopted by the new government was conservative. To Giolitti was entrusted the ministry of the interior, and a ministerial programme outlining a large number of reforms, chiefly of an economic, judicial, and social character, was warmly received in the Chamber. To the statement of a Socialist deputy that the triple alliance imposed disadvantageous military requirements upon Italy, Zanardelli replied that, as regards the army and the military organization of the country, Italy had full liberty

and independence in all international relations, and had submitted to no ties of any kind. The War Office estimates were adopted, but there was plainly a determination on the part of all the leaders to avoid excessive expenditure. The Chamber rejected a bill appropriating 2,500,000 lire for a new building; and the king, on the occasion of the birth of the princess-royal, Yolande-Marguerite, June 1, 1901, bade his people refrain from expensive demonstrations and instructed all those planning to send gifts to devote their money to good works. In his report on the year's budget, Guicciardini was able to present a balance of 50,000,000 lire, and this, too, despite the expenses of the expedition to China.

During the two years of its continuance in office the Zanardelli ministry proved itself remarkably able; not only did it tide over the many difficulties constantly besetting it, but it passed excellent and much needed legislation. Among its early projects was a plan to give relief from the excessive taxation weighing upon certain classes, and in 1902 a measure became law by which this was effected through the abolition of some of the most grievous taxes, a progressive income tax being put in their stead. The distress among the peasantry of South Italy received prompt attention. The government plan of relief was extensive and thorough, involving a reduction of the cost of salt, of the land tax on small holdings, exemption from the income tax of grazing farms and new industrial undertakings, as well as the construction of extensive public works, one of these being the building of an immense aqueduct from the Apennines through Apulia, to supply drinking-water to three provinces.

In the summer of 1903 two of Zanardelli's ablest supporters died, and after having asked in vain to be relieved of his onerous duties because of failing health, he resigned in October. He was followed by Giolitti, who inaugurated a policy almost radical in character, despite the fact that his cabinet consisted of Conservative members. Legislation for the benefit of South Italy was carried through; roads, canals, aqueducts, and sanitary works were constructed. Schemes for the reduction of the communal debts, lower taxes, refunding the public debt, and the conversion of the bonds, by which over forty-six million was saved to the treasury annually, were adopted. The government also showed every disposition to investigate charges against its own administration, and on its suggestion a committee was appointed to investigate the administration of the navy. The general elections in November, 1904, resulted in substantial gains to the government, due, it was said, to the participation of many Catholics who had abstained from

voting since the founding of the Italian kingdom. The issues on which the Conservatives won their victory involved a scheme for the improvement of secondary education, state ownership of all roads, the reform of taxation, the further refunding of the state debt, the maintenance of the existing military expenditures, the prevention of strikes in the public employment, and the relief of the southern provinces.

Other matters of more than usual importance during these years were the birth of an heir to the throne on September 15, 1904, the child being given the name of Humbert, Prince of Piedmont; the friction caused between Italy and Austria through the *Irredentist* agitations demanding for Italy those sections of territory held by Austria in which the population was in the main Italian; the reconciliation with France, and the negotiations for commercial treaties. The census of 1904 showed a population of 32,475,253, and a large decrease in illiteracy, that worst heritage from disunited Italy. The finances also improved to a remarkable degree, and for several years the budgetary statement showed a decided surplus. The question of immigration gave the government some concern, several hundred thousand emigrating annually. Indeed, so numerous have the Italian colonists on the South American continent become that a Greater Italy of remarkable potentiality has been brought into existence in that region.

To those confident of Italy's ability to work out her own destiny, no period for twenty years seemed more full of promise than did the opening years of the twentieth century. The continued hostility of Clericalism showed signs of abating; Socialism, though violent and aggressive, was not dangerous; among the powers Italy's position no longer seemed ambiguous; while parliamentary proceedings, though apparently devoid of strong leaders of statesmanlike qualities, resulted none the less in much excellent legislation. In fact, in all that makes a nation vitally strong, Italy had made noteworthy advances: her population had increased nearly five millions in twenty years; taxes had been somewhat reduced and more equitably distributed; mortality, owing to improved sanitation, better medical training, better equipped hospitals, a larger and purer water-supply, had steadily decreased. Even in politics and finance, the outlook showed that Italy was learning lessons in what had hitherto been badly managed departments; while in her relations abroad there can be no doubt that all countries, whether in alliance with Italy or not, welcomed any foreign policy, commercial or political, that would increase her prosperity.

CHAPTER VII.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE EUROPEAN STATES TO THE PRESENT TIME: RUSSIA AND FRANCE.

ONE of the leading articles of the Russian system of nationalization was the extirpation of all non-Russian elements in the western departments of the empire. This policy of Russification was not new. It had been applied in Poland after the insurrections of 1831 and 1863. But under the rule of Alexander III. it became a principle of state, applied not occasionally as a punishment, but systematically as part of a fixed purpose. The long-enduring Baltic provinces suffered most severely of all. In 1885 a decree was issued making obligatory the use of the Russian language in the elementary schools, a measure that was extended to include the preparatory schools in 1886 and the private schools in 1890 and 1891. Attempts on the part of German landholders to repress their Lettish peasantry gave rise to attacks of a murderous and incendiary character, and resulted in the establishment of a commission of inquiry by the Russian government. Systematic Russification followed. Laws, administration, procedure, police, and language, all became Russian; and even the names of the villages, the sign-boards on the shops, and the inscriptions on the sign-posts were changed to conform with the new policy. The Greek faith was declared the state religion, and the Lutheran creed was only tolerated; and permission to build new churches of "foreign confessions" was made dependent on the sanction, which was never attainable, of one of the supreme procurators of the Holy Synod. Lutheran clergymen expiated the crime of warning their congregations against the overzealous efforts of Orthodox proselytizers by eviction from their cures, expatriation, and other penalties, and up to 1885 more than sixty evangelical clergymen had been disciplined. For the erection of Orthodox churches, parsonages, schools, etc., 100,000 roubles of state funds were annually expended for three years. In order not to be compelled to co-operate in the transformation into Russian schools of the German institutions of learning maintained by the Livonian gentry, the provincial diet preferred to neglect them altogether. The Russian government stripped the University of Dorpat of its power of self-administration and compelled it to

PLATE IX.—B.



Count Leo Tolstoi.

employ the Russian language in lectures and examinations and to issue its dissertations in the same tongue. At home, that education might become equally an instrument of power to the state, the government promoted a revival of classical studies and discouraged the growing interest in the natural sciences. In order to combat Nihilism, which recruited its societies mainly from the student class, the school fees were raised, thus limiting the number of scholars and excluding the poorer classes. But in spite of this the universities, with their three or four thousand students each, became the centre of agitation and revolutionary activity. Under the Russian system advanced education is necessary to all persons looking forward to service under the state, to be admitted to the bar, or even to undertake private enterprises. It is readily seen, therefore, why Russian young men seek higher education. They flock to the universities to obtain the diploma which opens the way to preferment. Unfortunately they have been treated as suspects, watched and spied upon by the police, who make an excuse of the least show of independence for seizure and rough handling. In 1899 Bogolepoff forbade the formation of students' clubs, and the police were so brutal in their methods of enforcing the decree that over six thousand students withdrew from the universities. Riots became frequent and in 1900 serious trouble broke out at Kieff, and quickly spread to St. Petersburg. The disorders were reported by Pobedenostzeff to the Emperor and by an imperial order Kieff university was closed, and several hundred students were condemned to military service; some to hard labor for life in the convict gangs of the army.

The excitement aroused by these measures was greatly increased by the assassination of Bogolepoff in February, 1901, and by the excommunication of Count Tolstoi by the Holy Synod. The decree declared that Tolstoi was a false teacher; that he propagated doctrines contrary to Christ and the church, and injurious to the old faith; that he denied a personal God, a Savior Christ, the Immaculate Conception, the virginity of Mary, and that he rejected the sacraments. Numerous weighty protests, especially one signed by sixty-five professors, and another from a group of authors, were made. Disturbances at Kieff, St. Petersburg, and Moscow continued, workingmen bearing the red flag frequently participating. Evidences of the widespread dissatisfaction became so general that the committee of ministers refused to sanction the imperial order for suppression, and Nicholas II. was induced to dismiss the minister of police, Kleigels, and to issue an order for the reform of the educational system by the newly appointed minister of education, Vannovsky. As a consequence some improvement

was effected, but the real causes for grievances remained. In 1902 outbreaks again occurred. This called forth an imperial rescript to the minister of education ordering that the disturbances by the students must stop.

The attacks on the Jews, which had begun at Balta, were renewed during the years 1882, 1887, and 1891. The original edicts required that the Jews reside only in fifteen governments out of the sixty-eight, and there only in the towns; that they should hold no landed property and should employ no Christian labor. In 1890 these edicts were more rigorously enforced; the trade privileges of the Jews were limited, scores of employments were closed to them, and the way was absolutely barred to the professions and service under government. By these decrees it was estimated that out of 5,000,000 Jews in Russia, 2,000,000 were deprived of the means of support, and that in consequence of the distress engendered from famine, persecution, and inability to earn a livelihood, 300,000 were compelled to flee from Russia to other lands. Between 1893 and 1898 there seemed to be a relaxation in the severity with which these rules were applied; but reports of subsequent years seemed to show a determination on the part of the Anti-Semites of Russia to force the government to rescind the few privileges that still remained to the Jews of Moscow and St. Petersburg. In April, 1903, this bitter Anti-Jewish sentiment found vent in a terrible massacre lasting for nearly two days in Kishineff in southern Russia. The number killed was not large; it was rather the outrageous character of the massacre than the loss of life that aroused the civilized world against the crime. After the official investigation of the affair, which resulted in the conviction of a number of persons, the government, in order to get at the root of the difficulty, addressed a circular letter to the governors of the fifteen provinces in which Jews were allowed to reside, asking for reports on the condition of the Jewish population in their respective regions. The replies were generally unfavorable to the Jews, some recommending the total expulsion of the race from Russia. In December a decree was issued forbidding the entry of American Jews into Russia without a special permit from the minister of the interior. In June, 1904, on the other hand, the council of the empire repealed the law forbidding Jews from residing within thirty-two miles of the frontier. But Anti-Jewish sentiment prevailed among the people and in September renewed outbreaks and riots occurred.

During his last years Alexander III. lived in seclusion, guarded by Cossacks and police against the possibility of attack by Nihilists. Plots and conspiracies were very numerous and the police were constantly

PLATE X



NICHOLAS II., CZAR OF RUSSIA.

making arrests and destroying proclamations and printing presses. In 1894 he died, and was succeeded by his son, Nicholas II. (PLATE X.). The new czar, though reported to be of broad views and humane instincts, and less firmly wedded to the autocratic regime than his father had been, made it known at the outset that he could do nothing for constitutionalism. In all matters touching the internal regeneration of Russia, however, along the line of commerce, finance, and social activity, the czar was ready to pursue an enlightened policy and to make the material well-being of his people one of the chief objects of his reign. A new penal code was completed for Russia in 1895, and in 1897 the whole of Siberia was placed under a new and modern system of public justice. The arbitrary administration of officials was abolished, and a court of appeals, eight circuit courts, and local justices of the peace, appointed by the crown, were instituted. The system of deportation to Siberia was finally abandoned in May, 1899, and plans were set on foot for the amelioration of the condition of exiles. Important measures also were adopted in 1896 and 1897, regulating the finances, in order that the value of the paper rouble might be fixed and made equal to that of the silver rouble. To this end, a large part of the paper was withdrawn from circulation, the amount of silver currency in circulation was increased, and the Bank of Russia was required to enlarge its gold reserve. As the result of these and other measures, the minister of finance, Witte (Fig. 86), succeeded in restoring the coin value of the rouble; and by the resumption of specie payments the country was put in a sounder financial condition. Witte effected a conversion of the state loans and reduced the interest thereon from $5\frac{1}{2}$ and 5 per cent. to $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 4 per cent. Along with the establishment of financial solvency went a remarkable increase of industrial and mercantile activity, a gain which in Russia, as in Germany, was made at the expense of the agricultural. Extensive plans for subsidies, exemption from taxation and other privileges to the merchant shipping interests were adopted, and commercial treaties made with other nations. The railway system was extended into Siberia in the



FIG. 86. WITTE.

Pacific Ocean at Vladivostock and Port Arthur, to Archangel on the Arctic, from Perm to the Dwina, through the Caucasus to the Caspian, and from the Caspian to the Afghan frontier, opening up the resources of the great Russian world.

In May, 1896, occurred the coronation of the czar and his spouse, Princess Alix of Hesse, which was celebrated with all the pomp, semi-Oriental display, and impressive ceremony incident to so important an event. On this occasion the brilliancy of the decorations, the number of great personages, invited guests and spectators, and the unusual freedom from the restraint of police surveillance made the event more noteworthy than had been the coronation of Alexander III., eleven years before. The ceremonies began on the 21st of the month and lasted for nine days. On the 26th, the coronation took place. The czar, after placing the imperial crown upon his own head and seating himself on the throne, crowned his august spouse, and afterward both were anointed with the holy oil by the Metropolitan of Moscow. On the 30th a terrible disaster occurred on the Khodinsky plain, in which 1800 were killed outright and many hundred wounded. Four daughters were born to the czar and his wife, and much anxiety was felt over the succession until in August, 1904, the birth of a son and heir, Alexis Nicholovitch, was announced.

The relations between Russia and the Poles in 1897 seemed to be steadily improving. In 1894 the czar had removed General Gourko from the governor-generalship of Warsaw and appointed Count Schuvaloff in his place, and at the same time had re-established the Agricultural Association, which had been dissolved by Alexander III., and granted an amnesty to many Polish prisoners. Count Schuvaloff was welcomed in a most friendly manner in Warsaw the following February, and in his address declared that he would endeavor by a conciliatory attitude toward all parties to secure the sympathies of the country. This friendliness took definite form in 1897, when a series of concessions was made to the Poles. In Lithuania and the Ukraine, Polish landowners were again allowed to acquire landed property, a privilege that had been denied them since 1861; the Poles were further permitted to erect in the public square in Warsaw a monument to the Polish national poet, Mickiewicz; many persons imprisoned in the citadel, for reasons to them unknown, were released; the position of president of the theatre in Warsaw, formerly filled by a Russian—who, it was said, could neither speak nor read Polish—was thrown open to the Poles and filled by the poet and novelist, Sienkiewicz; the last of the penalties imposed for the uprising of 1863, and many of the disabilities under

which the Roman Catholics had suffered, were removed; and lastly, self-government was restored to many of the municipalities and villages. When in August, 1897, the czar and czarina visited Warsaw, they were received with unusual demonstrations of satisfaction. The chairman of the Warsaw Polish committee expressed the heartfelt gratitude of the whole people without distinction of birth or station, and declared that they were united in their love for their czar and their fatherland. The czar in reply expressed himself as fully convinced of their sincerity. But despite these formal assurances of reconciliation much doubt existed as to the actual feeling and condition among the Poles. The Russian press censor, as is well-known, is relentless, and authentic reports of the situation were not to be had, but there is little doubt of the fact that even the Polish patriotism was being gradually broken as the work of absorption continued. During the first year of the war with Japan disturbances and riots constantly attended the enlistment of troops, to which were added extensive labor strikes in Warsaw and all the principal cities, but the power of the Poles to resist Russification had been too much weakened to constitute a serious danger.

While the relations of Russia with the Poles were apparently improving, those with the Finns were steadily growing worse; for Holy Russia, one and indivisible, found in Finland its most unwilling victim. To the Germans of the Baltic provinces, the Poles, the Transcaucasian Armenians, were now to be added the Finns in Finland, that Slavophile doctrines might prevail throughout Russia. Since 1809, when Alexander I. granted to her chartered privileges, Finland had governed herself; and for ninety years no czar had encroached upon these chartered rights. Important constitutional reforms had been made in 1869, when the form of representation was considerably improved and the franchise extended; and in 1882, when triennial sittings of Parliament were substituted for meetings every five years.

It was not until the reign of Alexander III. that encroachments began to be made upon Finnish independence and right of self-government, when the reactionary party in Russia began to gain an ascendancy over the wearied and terrified czar. The work of subduing Finland was begun by throwing obstacles in the way of constitutional procedure in the Finnish diet; then it took the form of attacks in the Panslavist press upon Finland's rights as an independent grand duchy; and finally, there was direct interference in certain minor matters connected with Finnish administration. In 1890 Russian currency was made legal tender in Finland; in 1891 the Finnish post-offices were attached to the Russian postal service, and in 1900 the

use of Finnish postage stamps was prohibited both in the foreign and in the domestic service. Great hopes were entertained by the Finns for the cessation of the reactionary policy after the accession of Nicholas II., who had pledged himself to respect their rights. But in 1898 the resignation of von Daceln, the Finnish secretary of state, revealed the fact that demands had been made upon him which his loyalty as a Finn would not permit him to fulfil. Attempts had been made as early as 1894 to force the Russian language on the Finns, and in 1899 an imperial decree made knowledge of the Russian language obligatory for senators, governors, and the higher officials of the grand duchy.

The next year the practical abolition of Finnish as the official language of the grand duchy was decreed. The Senate and all subordinate government officials were to use Russian at once in their communications to the governor-general, and within five years the provincial authorities were to be ready to introduce it into all their offices and departments. Of all the measures of the Russian Pan Slavists, this outrageous infringement upon the constitutional rights of the Finns roused the greatest indignation. The diet, in a carefully worded address, protested, but without effect; the Senate, to which the decree was sent first, refused to promulgate it on the ground of its unconstitutionality; and when a command came from St. Petersburg ordering its immediate publication, fourteen out of twenty-one senators resigned rather than be parties to so unpatriotic an act. Other severe blows were struck at Finnish independence; the liberty of meeting and of the press was restricted; the *Nyt Pressen* and two other Finnish journals were suppressed. General Bobrikoff, the governor-general of Finland, pursued with relentless vigor the execution of all orders, and the Russian censor and Russian committee in charge of the revision of the Finnish constitution carried their work forward with inexorable thoroughness.

In 1901 the policy inaugurated two years before of Russifying the Finnish army was carried out in spite of the earnest protests of the Finns. By an edict approved by the czar the Finnish army was disbanded and the staff organization dissolved. All Finnish recruits were to enlist in the Russian army on the basis of a period of three years in the active army and fifteen in the reserve.

On February 15 a blow more serious still was inflicted: an imperial manifesto was issued, which in plain language deprived the Finns of the right of considering measures dealing with their external relations with the rest of the empire, although it left them full control of all local matters. More dangerous still to Finnish constitutional rights was the reservation by the czar to himself of the ultimate decision as to

which laws were to come within the scope of the general legislation of the empire. This declaration, though seemingly concerning Finland's external relations only, was thought by the Finns to be but an opening wedge for further encroachment upon their constitution, and aroused much anxiety among them. Deputations and petitions were sent to the czar, but he either refused to receive them or made no response. Steadily the Russifying process went on; a fund was established for starting a paper in Russian and Finnish; Plehve, secretary of the empire and one of the upholders of the Panslavist policy, was made secretary of state for Finland.

In 1901 the civil administration was transferred from the Finnish Senate to the Russian minister of war. The amalgamation of the Finnish army with the Russian was decreed and the Finnish archives, for the period from 1809 to 1825, forcibly removed to St. Petersburg, despite the vigorous protests of the Finns. In October of the following year imperial ordinances were promulgated, designed to suppress Finnish autonomy still further. The Senate was placed under the direct control of the governor-general, who was given a veto over its proceedings, his presence was made essential to the transaction of all important business, and Finnish administrative offices were made dependent upon him. In April, 1903, the czar conferred upon Bobrikoff the power of banishment without trial, and as a result arbitrary arrest and banishment of obnoxious Finns by "administrative process" became matters of daily occurrence. The foremost of the Finnish patriots were thus driven into exile, while at home the power of the people to resist was still further decreased by depriving the municipal and communal authorities of their rights, and by placing the sale of arms and ammunition under severe restrictions. A ukase in December finally deprived the duchy of all its remaining rights of self-government by empowering the provincial governors to quash the elections of all persons in any way obnoxious to the government and to appoint others in their stead. Bobrikoff carried out the repressive measures to their fullest extent in his determination to crush out all resistance. Finally the reckoning came, and in June, 1904, the hated governor was assassinated at Helsingfors. But no material change in the Russian policy occurred. Finnish autonomy was a thing of the past.

The policy of Nicholas II., though seemingly fraught with good intentions and at first of a distinctly more liberal character, was not essentially different from that of Alexander III. The Russifying of the frontier provinces, of the Baltic lands, Finland, the Caucasus, and Armenia had passed on rapidly to completion; little had been done to lighten the

rigors of administration except in Poland, or to extend the few liberties of thought, education, the press, and worship, that were allowed in Russia. Disaffection, especially among the Russified states, had increased, and loyalty to the empire had not followed either the flag or the language. Yet Russia in other respects, in population, wealth, and territorial expansion and occupation, had made wonderful advances. She had begun the development of resources the extent of which no man knew, she had created openings for her products, and in oil and grain was competing with the rest of the world. She had created in two decades a railway system, had made her connection with the Pacific, with the North Sea, the Caucasus, and Transcaspia, had seen her population increase to 150 millions, her manufactures make rapid strides, and herself emerge from a condition purely agricultural to one of independence of her neighbors in industry as well as agriculture. That this transformation had been accompanied in the opening years of the century by great commercial distress was the inevitable consequence of speculation, hasty industrial ventures, a prevailing economy of consumption, and a foreign situation unfavorable to Russia in that intervention in China had increased the expenses of the state at the very time when the Boer war was cutting off the importation of gold from South Africa. These conditions brought on a dangerous economic crisis marked by stagnation of business, a fall in the value of securities, the closing of industrial works, the ruin of individuals, and an increase in the number of the unemployed.

Meanwhile the Russian agriculturist was finding his lot becoming daily more difficult. In 1902 outbreaks occurred very generally in southern Russia where famine and disease prevailed, so that the government deemed it necessary to remit arrears of taxes amounting to 25,000,000 roubles. Measures for reform were discussed, and in March, 1903, an imperial manifesto was promulgated promising freedom of religion and a greater degree of local self-government. The communal system was not interfered with, but much greater freedom of withdrawing from the communities was allowed. Provision was also made for the abolition of collective responsibility for the payment of taxes by the peasant communities, and a thorough reform of the provincial and district governments was promised. A commission was appointed to develop a plan for carrying out the suggested reforms, but unfortunately its presidency was entrusted to Plehve, the minister of the interior, whose autocratic tendencies were even then too well known. About the same time that the reform decrees were passed the local

committees appointed in 1902 to investigate the condition and the needs of the peasantry drew up a list of their grievances. These related in the main to the bureaucratic system in local government and the excess of indirect taxes. The last was particularly significant because the tariff rates had just been increased to 50 per cent. on most commodities, and to 100 per cent. on others. In August, 1903, M. Witte was transferred from the ministry of finance to the presidency of the committee of ministers, a change regarded by many as indicative of the increasing influence of the reactionary, Plehve. More than anyone else, Witte had contributed toward Russia's economic development; his measures for the state monopoly of the manufacture and sale of spirits, the introduction of the gold standard, and the construction of the Siberian Railway revealed the broad lines of his policy. Unfortunately, he was inclined to force Russian progress too much, and his successor, Pleske, was confronted with a large deficit, a considerable portion of which arose from the construction and operation of railways, as yet of political and strategic value only. Heavy loans were made to this end, one of 300,000,000 roubles being devoted almost entirely to the work in Manchuria. In February, 1904, the war with Japan broke out and renewed loans with greatly increased taxes soon placed the financial condition of the government in an extremely abnormal condition. Because of the war, the general dissatisfaction growing out of the hardships of the service, and the defeats in the Far East, the machinations of the revolutionary societies again became very active. In August, Plehve was assassinated by a member of the Social Revolutionary party. His successor was Count Mirsky, and under his administration a new reform movement, which drew its strength chiefly from the upper class and the *Zemstvos*, was inaugurated. General discussion of the political, social, and economic condition of the country became the order of the day. On December 26 the long-expected reform ukase was issued, and

FIG. 86. *Count von Plehve.*

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while it declared the autocratic system indispensable, it promised liberal reforms, equality before the law, greater independence of the Zemstvos, local government, freedom of religion, free speech, and a free press. Such at least was the interpretation generally put upon the different sections of the decree. It required no reading between the lines, however, to see that in every point these provisions were so hedged about by conditions that the whole question of reform, in any particular case, so far as the ukase was concerned, depended quite as much as ever upon the czar and his advisers. In the meantime the heavy burdens of the war and the repeated disasters aroused the press and the people to a point never before reached. The fall of Port Arthur in January, 1905, called forth the most outspoken criticism of the bureaucracy, and extreme demands for political reform were made, even by such papers as the *Noroe Vremya*.

Indeed the great economic and industrial crisis of the opening century in Russia could be but the prelude to an important transformation of her political institutions. The increased interests of the state in mines, railroads, factories, and general industry had drawn from Witte the declaration that the youth of the country must have a technical education and not merely instruction in Latin and Greek, and the suggestion was being rapidly followed. With the growth in the importance of the commercial and industrial classes, the demand for a constitution would inevitably be made again; and the question of autoeracy versus the budget was bound to have an answer. Whatever might be the outcome of the Pan-Russian movement for a single, homogeneous, orthodox state, it seemed that the surest guaranty for the stability of the Muscovite empire and the liberalizing of its institutions lay in the economic revolution which was beginning to transform a mediaeval into a modern state; whether the transformation was to be effected by peaceful methods or by revolution was a question Russian autoeracy had still to solve. Unfortunately external influences threatened to force the issue.

With the disappearance and death of Boulanger in France and the success of the Republican party in the elections of 1889, a period of comparative rest was ushered in. The parties opposed to the republic disintegrated; the Revisionists became impotent; the unity of the Conservatives was destroyed by the Boulanger affair and the declaration of the Count of Paris that he was ready to use any means to hasten the triumph of the monarchy, and Orleanists and Legitimists no longer worked together. Fearful of disturbing this happy political situation,

the Republicans in Parliament avoided controversial questions. In February, 1890, when the Duke of Orleans in a theatrical manner announced his right of serving in the armies of France, the Tirard-Constans ministry imprisoned him to please the Radicals, and later on June 6 pardoned him and sent him across the frontier. Avoiding political issues, the government busied itself with economic and social questions; for the premier, Tirard, was first of all an economist and interested in commerce and agriculture. The Protectionists, with Méline as their spokesman, had long desired to get rid of the commercial conventions of Napoleon III., and, now that these treaties were about to expire, advocated a general tariff act. This measure, framed by Ribot and Méline, embodied two tariffs—a maximum tariff to be levied on commodities from countries having no reciprocity treaty with France, and a minimum tariff offering lower rates to nations granting reciprocal advantages. In 1892, by a vote of 394 to 114, this measure was adopted; after which time the nations, with but one or two exceptions, by entering into reciprocal relations with France, took advantage of the opportunity to obtain the minimum rate. In 1899, even Italy entered into this arrangement; Spain had not accepted it in 1901; while Switzerland, by a special arrangement, in spite of the objections of the French Protectionists, was able to obtain rates even lower than the minimum. Already in 1890 a conflict over the question of the prolongation for two years of the Franco-Turkish treaty of commerce displeased the grape-growers of the south and led to an adverse vote in the Senate. The Tirard ministry, the first since the organization of the republic to withdraw because of an adverse vote in the Senate, then resigned. On March 17, 1890, Freycinet formed a cabinet, and continued, in the main, his predecessor's policy, upholding the school and recruiting laws, supporting the Méline tariff measure, and advocating changes in social legislation. When Emperor William II. invited deputies to the International Conference of Labor, the French government sent Simon and Burdeau, though in so doing it was charged by the Anti-Semite and Boulangist, Laur, with humiliating itself before Germany; and when the recommendations of the conference were received, the ministry carried out some of them, establishing a Labor Bureau like that in the United States, pushing through acts regulating the labor of women and children in factories, and discussing measures relating to workingmen's insurance, hours of labor, and the like.

The position of the republic was made stronger and its standing in Europe considerably more secure by the favorable attitude of the pope during this year 1890, and during the next year by the *entente* with Russia. On November 12, 1890, Cardinal Lavigerie (Fig. 87), a French ecclesiastic

and missionary and Primate of Algeria, in a speech at a dinner to the French admiral and his officers at Algiers, denounced the Conservatives of

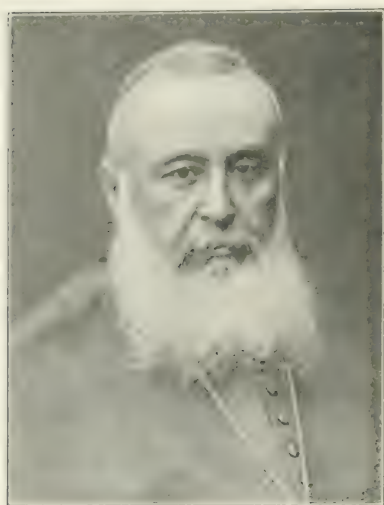


FIG. 87.—Cardinal Lavigerie.

France for their adherence to royalism, while during the banquet his band of White Fathers played the *Marseillaise*, the hymn of the republic. When no rebuke from the Vatican followed for this, it was felt that a change was impending in the attitude of the church toward the republic; and no great surprise was felt, therefore, when Pope Leo XIII., in his encyclical of February 16, 1892, declared that it was the duty of French Roman Catholics to accept the republic, since it had become the firmly established government of France. Notwithstanding the displeasure of many of the royalists at this defection of the clergy, a new

party was now formed—a Republican Right, under the leadership of Duke de la Rochefoucauld and Count Albert de Mun: a clear index to the fact that the old royalist party was no longer a living reality in France. These new Roman Catholic Republicans—the *ralliés*, as they were called—were ready to rally to the defence of the republic in the coming elections, and in consequence the Moderate Republicans were ready to give up their efforts to obtain the support of the Socialist party, a fact that was demonstrated in May, 1893, when the Dupuy ministry closed the Labor Bureau in Paris and intervened to control strikes and limit the activities and privileges of labor unions. The satisfaction taken in this state of peace and quiet, which was increased by the feeling prevailing in France that the relations with Russia were approaching the form of a Franco-Russian *entente*, was soon destroyed by rumors of financial scandals which implicated many of the leaders of the Republican party. By persistently connecting these rumors with the collapse of the Panama Company, Conservatives and Socialists had powerful electioneering material for the campaign that followed; and hoping to expose the whole body of Republican deputies by showing them to the world as venal and corrupt, they employed every means in their power, violent and frantic exaggeration, reckless charges and denunciations, and ill-judged prosecutions, to weaken the foundations of the republic.

The Panama affair, in ruining thousands of small stockholders, among the peasants and petty tradesmen, was at best bad enough; but it was made more of a disgrace to France by the hue and cry raised over it. When the company went into bankruptcy in 1889, it was found that 1,300,000,000 francs (\$260,000,000) had been spent, and that of this enormous sum only about 700,000,000 francs (\$140,000,000) had been expended on the canal, the remainder having gone for bribes, salaries, and profits to contractors. The inquiry which was at once set on foot, and which roused little general interest outside the body of creditors and their sympathizers, resulted in a series of prosecutions brought against Ferdinand de Lesseps (Fig. 88), Charles de Lesseps his son, Fontane



FIG. 88. Comte Ferdinand de Lesseps.

and Cottu, who were directors in the company, and Eiffel the contractor, on the charge of raising money by false pretences and of misappropriating the same. The trials began in January, 1893, and the defendants were found guilty. Ferdinand de Lesseps and his son were sentenced each to five years' imprisonment and a fine of 3000 francs, the other two directors to two years' imprisonment and a fine of 20,000 francs, while Eiffel was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and a fine of 20,000 francs. At the time, these sentences were deemed severe, and were on June 15 quashed by the court of cassation on the ground that the prosecution had not been instituted within five years of the acts complained of. Ferdinand de Lesseps, who was stricken at the time, and died the next year, never knew of the charge or the sentence, and justly,

for, as has been well said, "posterity will doubtless recognize that he succumbed not to the lust of riches, but to the glorious temptation of once more rendering a service to humanity and civilization."

But the trial of the directors had already become entirely overshadowed in the minds of the people of France by the charges of bribery brought against deputies, senators, and ministers. In the excitement of the months of December and January, 1892 and 1893, France seemed worked to a frenzy; men became hysterical and prosecutors reckless. On November 21, 1892, the first charges were brought; and during the months that followed, as accusation piled up on accusation, and implication on implication, men did not know where to turn for honesty. Floquet, president of the Chamber, and Freycinet, minister of war, were involved; the Ribot ministry announced to the Chamber that it was to prosecute two of its own members, Ravier and Roche; and it was charged that altogether 100 deputies and senators were under the stigma of connivance. Then, as the investigation continued, one after another was found to be innocent, many were dismissed because no evidence was forthcoming, until in the end but eleven were actually prosecuted, and but four were presented for public trial. Of these, Charles de Lesseps and Blondin were found guilty, with extenuating circumstances; while Baïhaut, who unluckily for himself made a confession that he had received a bribe of 60,000 francs, was sentenced to five years in prison, loss of civil rights, and payment of a fine of 750,000 francs. After one month de Lesseps was released from prison, and after two months Blondin; Baïhaut alone remained. Such was the net result of the events that had stirred the nation to its depths and had seemed to promise prison-cells to half the Republican party. One man confessed to a bribe of 60,000 francs, yet millions of francs had disappeared! The cloud passed; and when the general elections were held in August, the electors, satisfied, sent back to the Chamber a solid Republican majority of 292 members, with 35 of the *ralliés*. The victory was the more remarkable in that many of the old Republicans were dropped and younger men returned, and that while few Monarchists were elected, and almost no Boulangists and Bonapartists, an imposing body of 55 Socialist deputies of varying shades of opinion gave promise of a powerful opposition. This increase in the number of Socialist deputies made it clear that the centre of political strength was moving toward the Left.

After the excitement over the Panama scandal had subsided and the general elections had been held, the people of France turned their attention to the visit of the Russian fleet at Toulon and gave vent to their feelings in extraordinary demonstrations of joy at this evidence of an

accord with Russia. These feelings were intensified when, the same year, the czar paid a special visit to the French war ships lying at Copenhagen. That the papacy and Russia should be rallying to the support of the republic at this time was a matter of great moment to the republican cause, in giving to the government a prestige abroad and a stability among the nations that it had not possessed since the days of the third Napoleon. It was the more striking to note this *rapprochement* of the two ultra-conservative powers to France, inasmuch as the political tendencies in the latter country were unmistakably radical. Nothing showed this more clearly than the fact that the Dupuy ministry fell in December, 1893, because the programme presented at the opening of the Chamber the month before had not pleased the Socialists. The latter condemned the ministry because it refused to advocate revision of the constitution, separation of church and state, a change in the mode of elections, and the establishment of new forms of taxation. The Casimir-Périer ministry that followed tried to steer a middle course between the Conservatives and the Socialists, but scarcely was it in office when it was confronted by a series of anarchistic outrages, occurring at a time of business depression and strikes, that forced it into a position so conservative as to result in its overthrow, May 22, 1894. Vaillant threw a bomb into the Chamber on December 9, 1893; Henry exploded another bomb at the Terminus Hotel café on February 12 of the next year, and between February and June a number of minor attempts took place, without causing, however, serious loss of life. The climax of all was reached when, on June 24, President Carnot, while in Lyons, attending the exhibition, was stabbed by an Anarchist named Caesario Santo. The same night, he died; and this deliberate murder of the high-minded and honorable President of the republic, whose influence had been so powerful in maintaining the integrity of the state, aroused the indignation not only of France, but of the nations, and led to the inevitable reprisals on the part of the French government. After the attack by Vaillant, a law had been passed limiting the privileges of the press, but now the government went much farther. In July, 1894, the Chamber adopted a measure of more stringent character, providing for trials of Anarchists, for the punishing of aiders and abettors of anarchistic outrages, and the curtailing of reports of trial proceedings, a measure that was opposed at every stage by the deputies of the Left and the extreme Left, and broke up finally the union between the Moderate Republicans and the Radicals.

The situation was better defined when it came to the election of Carnot's successor. The Moderates chose as their candidate Casimir-Périer;

the Radicals, Brisson, who had been president of the Chamber in December, 1894, and was a Radical of an austere type; but the candidate of the Moderates was supported by nearly all the senators, as well by a good proportion of the deputies, and was chosen on the first ballot. Now Casimir-Périer (Fig. 89) was the grandson of the minister of Louis Philippe, who represented the supremacy of the *bourgeoisie* of that time; and he was also a capitalist himself, the owner of coal-fields which were especially obnoxious to the Socialists on account of the strikes that had been altogether too frequent there. No sooner was Casimir-Périer elected than the Socialists began against him a veritable campaign of slander and villification. Taking advantage of every occasion to taunt



FIG. 89. Casimir-Périer.

him with his bourgeois origin and character, they pursued him in the newspapers and in the Chamber, exaggerating his personal traits and political acts in typical French fashion. Against him were even the ministers of the council, his own appointees, who, it was charged, neglected to show the respect due to the President of the republic. Finally, unable to endure the personal attacks on him, Casimir-Périer in January, 1895, announced his withdrawal from the Presidency. This act, which at the time was generally condemned as a desertion of the post of duty, was heralded as a great victory for the Socialists, as it undoubtedly was.

The Radicals took advantage of the situation to consolidate their strength, so that when the chambers came together on the 8th they were able to elect Brisson as president of the Chamber of Deputies, and about the same time, when the two Houses met in national convention at Versailles to elect a President, they were able to give their candidate, Brisson, a plurality of votes on the first ballot. It was only by dropping altogether their regular or Anti-Socialist candidate, Waldeck-Rousseau, and concentrating all their forces on the candidate least obnoxious to the Radicals, that the Moderates were able to pull out a victory. On January 17, Felix Faure (Fig. 90) was elected President of the French



FIG. 90. — Felix Faure.

republic. When the chambers came together, Faure selected Bourgeois, the Radical concentrationist, to form a ministry; but he was unable to do so, and the task was turned over to Ribot, who finally succeeded in gathering a ministry of Moderates under a programme of order, social defence, and democratic reform. He denounced the Radicals and Socialists as obstructionists, and refused to make the separation of church and state a part of his policy, because he did not believe that at this time so radical a step was practicable. But, knowing that he must depend to a certain extent upon the Socialists, he introduced an amnesty bill of an all-embracing character. This measure, which was readily passed, granted pardon to all persons implicated in crimes, outrages, or plots.

against the state; to all guilty of press offences and of offences at public meetings or associations, elections, or strikes. At the insistence of the Abbé Lemire, the Chamber voted a further dispensation of pardon to all priests whose stipends had been suspended for political indiscretions. To the same end, that of appeasing the Radicals, laws were voted placing a special tax on the property of religious corporations, reafforesting mountains in order to prevent inundations, increasing pensions for old age, and one, which was considered a great victory for the Radicals, taxing alcohol.

But while the Radicals tended to increase in importance, the Socialists to some extent overreached themselves. At the end of July, when the



FIG. 91. —Bourgeois.

elections for the departmental councils were held, it was discovered that the strength of the latter was not as great as had been feared, notwithstanding the efforts their organization had made to capture the votes of the agrarians. The Republicans made heavy gains, while the Conservatives lost, and the Socialists were defeated in districts where they had hoped to win. The Socialists, who had become "collectivists," had injured themselves in the country by their obstructionist policy, with its incitement to violence and disorder. For example, when a strike broke out in August among the glass-workers at Carmaux, they encouraged the movement, hoping thereby to hasten the transformation of the republic; and after the chambers had come together in October, by interpellations on the subjects of the strike and the Southern Railway scandal, they were

able to turn the vote against the Ribot ministry. The President at once summoned Bourgeois (Fig. 91), the leader of the Radicals, who, finding himself unable to form a "concentration" cabinet, was compelled to form a purely Radical one. The attitude of the new ministry showed that the Radical party had become, in truth, but the left wing of the great Republican party, and that the ministry, rejecting the aid of the Socialists, was depending upon Republican support. The only purely Radical measure brought forward was that taxing inheritances, and this was passed without difficulty in November; but against other Radical measures, such as the revision of the constitution and separation of church and state, the ministry deliberately declared itself.

Bourgeois, however, the next year, showed a willingness to approach the Socialists when in February, 1896, he agreed to an income tax. This act roused the conservative Senate, which showed its displeasure by passing a vote of censure upon the minister of justice for a certain appointment of his in connection with the inquiry into the Southern Railway scandal; but the ministry asked for and received a vote of confidence from the Chamber of Deputies. Thereupon the Senate repeated its censure, and the House repeated its vote of confidence. Again in April, on a question concerning the foreign policy of the government, the Senate again voted a want of confidence and refused to agree to the appropriations for Madagascar as long as the Bourgeois ministry should remain in power. The ministry, however, deeming the successive votes of the House a sufficient excuse for remaining in office, refused to resign; but inasmuch as after a four months' struggle the Senate still refused to vote the Madagascar credits, and it was evident that the delay would mean the loss of needed reinforcements in Madagascar, the ministry resigned. This act disgusted the rank and file of the extreme Radicals and Socialists outside the Chamber, who charged their leaders with having become "gangrened with the bourgeois spirit." In April, 1896, the control of affairs fell into the hands of the Moderate Republicans, with Méline (Fig. 92) at the head of the cabinet.

Debates on the colonial policy of France had formed an important part of the year's discussions. France had always claimed a right of protectorate over Madagascar, and the right to control the foreign policy of the island; but the Hova government had denied this latter right, and in 1895 had compelled the government to take up arms in defence of its traditional claim. Finally, however, the queen had agreed to make full concessions. At the same time, among the Republicans, had arisen a party of annexationists, who wished to transform the island into a regular French colony; and their cause was advocated by this ministry

because it felt that only by annexation could the foreign commercial relations of Madagascar with Great Britain and the United States be settled. Consequently on June 20, 1896, the bill declaring Madagascar a French colony was introduced; and though it found opposition, chiefly from the Socialists who had declared against expansion, it was passed. At the instance of Jaurès, the Socialist leader, a resolution was accepted declaring that "slavery being abolished in Madagascar by the fact of its being declared a French colony, the government will take measures to insure immediate emancipation."



FIG. 92. Méline.

After the Madagascar question was thus for the moment satisfactorily settled, and the chambers had undertaken a peaceful consideration of economic and social reforms, public interest centred in the President, his doings in France and his relations with the czar. Unlike the Presidents who had preceded him, M. Faure thoroughly enjoyed his official duties and took pleasure in the position that he occupied. He seemed to be fond of public appearance, of display, of elaborate ceremonial, and the insignia of power. During the year 1896 he travelled in Napoleonic fashion through the provinces, decorating soldiers and awarding medals, reviewing troops and naval parades, unveiling memorials, making speeches, and attending fêtes. He took delight in sudden tours of in-

spection, in unconventional appearances, in walking, riding horseback, or muleback, or climbing, as the case might demand. Some thought him undignified; others, too fond of princely airs. Neither was right: Faure may have loved to pose with the photographer near, but his vagaries were wholesome and made him popular with the people. At no time did he shine with better effect than in the interchange of visits with the czar. Since 1873 no crowned head had been seen in the capital of France for the purpose of making an official visit; and now that she was to receive an emperor, France made elaborate preparations. The czar and czarina reached Cherbourg on October 1, and were received by the President and banqueted. Their visit to Paris was the occasion of out-



FIG. 93.—GABRIEL HANRIOT.

bursts of enthusiasm; at the Élysée banquet, at the opera, during the drives through the city, the welcome on the part of the inhabitants of Paris was one wild acclaim that at times approached frenzy. The next year, when President Faure returned the visit, the scenes were repeated in many particulars. He left Paris on August 18, 1897, and reached Cronstadt on the 23d, and during his stay revelled in the pomp of which he was so fond, and delighted in his close association with royalty. But greater for him than this personal gratification was the importance to France of his visit, from the diplomatic standpoint. The French people were listening eagerly; for though they enjoyed the attention and the

enthusiasm showered upon their President, they were waiting to know for a certainty that their relations with Russia were placed on the sure footing of an alliance. This news they did not receive officially; but they did hear the czar and the President, in their speeches at the luncheon on board the French war-ship, speak of the "two friendly and allied nations," words that were justly construed to mean that as the result of nine years of negotiation there had come into existence a dual alliance of Russia and France to counterbalance the triple alliance of the Central European powers. Those words were not used carelessly; they had been written down and scrutinized by the foreign ministers, Hanotaux (Fig. 93) and Muravieff; and it is not surprising that the French people forgave their President his little foibles and greeted him on his return as if he had been a military hero.



FIG. 94.—Alfred Dreyfus.

But the prestige that France had gained from her internal prosperity and favorable foreign relations was imperilled by the controversy arising over the guilt or innocence of Captain Dreyfus, who had been condemned for treason in 1894. In September of that year a secret agent of the War Office had brought in a "bordereau" or covering letter, torn into small fragments, which contained information from some French officer to Colonel Schwartzkoppen, the German attaché in Paris. A comparison of handwritings turned the attention of the department to Alfred Dreyfus (Fig. 94), an Alsatian Jew, captain in the Fourteenth artillery.

Dreyfus had been unpopular among his fellows; and although clever and industrious, he had been considered ambitious and too eager to take advantage of opportunities for his own advancement. The picture given of him in the evidence at the first trial is not flattering, and there can be little doubt that personal dislike had aided at first in bringing the charge against him. The examination of Dreyfus was placed in the hands of Major Du Paty de Clam, whose methods of investigation were rather theatrical than judicial. The final act of accusation was drawn by Major A. D'Ormescheville on December 3, 1894, whose report, based first on the moral ground of the prisoner's habits and character, and then on the material ground of his having written the *bordereau*, charged him with having "delivered to a foreign power a certain number of confidential documents relating to national defence, thus enabling them to undertake a war with France." The trial took place before the First Court-Martial of Paris, and, notwithstanding the protests of the prisoner's counsel, was heard in secret, so that no one except the court knew upon what evidence the verdict was based. On December 22 Dreyfus was condemned and sentenced to military degradation, transportation, and perpetual imprisonment. On the 5th of January, 1895, the condemned man was publicly degraded in the courtyard of the École Militaire; and the insignia of his rank having been stripped from his cap, tunic, and trousers, and his sword broken, he was placed in jail as an ordinary prisoner. Later, by special act of the Chamber, he was deported to the Ile du Diable, off the coast of French Guiana, where he remained for five years in solitary confinement. The uniqueness of his fate, his isolation, rumors of the harsh and petty treatment to which he was subjected by the government, tended to keep his name and condition before the public.

In the minds of many who had followed the case thus far, the published evidence had not appeared sufficient to prove that Dreyfus wrote the *bordereau*. Of actual proof there appeared to be very little, while the arguments based on moral grounds were worthless. During the year 1895 and until the summer of 1896, nothing of a public nature bearing on the case appeared, though the prisoner's friends and relatives remained convinced of his innocence. Then it was that Lieutenant-Colonel Picquart (Fig. 95), the head of the Espionnage Department, having received through a secret agent a *petit bleu*, or telegraphic post-card, addressed to a certain Major Esterhazy, began an inquiry about him as a suspicious person to be in communication with the German embassy, from some member of which the *petit bleu* had come. Picquart, having been struck during the course of this inquiry with the resemblance of

Esterhazy's handwriting to that of the bordereau, communicated the fact to his superior officers; and while this information was arousing the attention of the general staff, evidence began to appear of the existence of a collection of papers directed against Dreyfus, and contained in a secret *dossier* or portfolio in the War Office, of which the public had hitherto known nothing. In order to strengthen the case against Dreyfus, the *Electeur* published one of these papers, containing the phrase, "Cette canaille de D—," printing the D as Dreyfus, and claiming that it was on this and other uncontrovertible evidence that the First Court-Martial had based its verdict. These disclosures attracted attention at once to the secret *dossier*, and it was soon shown that the use of such



FIG. 95.—Picquart.

secret documents at the court-martial, without the knowledge of the accused or his counsel, was illegal. Pamphlets began to appear: Lazard issued "La vérité sur l'affair Dreyfus" and "Une erreur judiciaire." As doubts as to the justness of the verdict increased, it was hoped that the government would order a revision of the case; but this hope was dispelled when on November 18, 1896, General Billot, minister of war, declared the case to be a *chose jugée* and Dreyfus legally condemned.

At last the matter was reaching a point where public interest was awakening and the forces were gathering for one of the fiercest controversial struggles France had ever known. The government and the army had both committed themselves to the guilt of Dreyfus, and the affair had already passed from the narrow field of the military and the

judicial to the larger field of national and indeed of international interests. The question got involved with the larger questions that were agitating France and Europe—racial, political, and religious; and Anti-Semites, Clericals, Nationalists, and revolutionary Royalists threw themselves into the struggle, not because they were convinced of the justness of the verdict, but because they were determined to abase the Jews and uphold the honor of the army. The French press, during the two years following, lost all sense of honor, justice, and probity; with a few noteworthy exceptions, it poured forth a continuous stream of wrath, hate, and malignant denunciation of the Dreyfusards. Outrageous statements were made on both sides, accusations brought that were not only absurd, but foul and indecent. On the side of the Anti-Semites, to save the army from the Jews, no assertions were too violent; while on the part of the Dreyfusards, no ridicule or sarcasm was too intense to hurl at the officers of the army. In the world outside, indignation began to be aroused at what was deemed a perversion of justice, and France lost caste in the eyes of her neighbors. Dreyfus was no longer on trial; it was the French nation whom the world was judging. The conflict was no longer between Dreyfus and his accusers: it was between the Jews and their enemies; the government and the opposition; the laical and the clerical parties; the Parliamentary Republicans and the Royalist, Socialist, and ecclesiastical parties; and lastly, between the military and civil administration of France. French honor would see no stain on the army, where lay the glory of France; any subterfuge, any concealment, any deceit might be practised, any private interest suborned, any individual crushed, if only the defenders of France remained with dignity and honor untouched. The world, particularly the western world, found it hard to understand why men—in other respects honorable, upright, kindly, and faithful—should become hard and cruel in the presence of this issue; should make the honor of the army a fétich; and by refusing to open a closed case, declare that what the army had once said or done could not be changed. To them, the army in France had become infallible.

Whether Dreyfus were guilty or not, the government and army had declared that, as he had been condemned, the Dreyfus affair no longer existed. During 1897 every effort was made by them to avoid further exposure. Picquart, whom his superior officers, Gonse and Mercier, had encouraged as long as his investigations concerned only Esterhazy, found his way blocked as soon as he made it clear that the condemnation of Esterhazy meant the opening of the Dreyfus affair. Finally, he was got rid of altogether and sent off to Tunis; his rooms were searched, and

his place in the Espionnage Department was given to Colonel Henry, who by means of false telegrams and deliberate threats tried to incriminate his predecessor on the charge of forging the *petit bleu*. Fearful of what might happen, Picquart in June, 1897, took his documents to his lawyer, Lelblois, who in turn handed over the information to the vice-president of the Senate, Scheurer-Kestner. The latter, deeply impressed, and convinced that he had but to show the evidence to obtain a reconsideration of the case, went to General Billot and Premier Méline and besought them to open the case, but each refused. The army officers especially desired that Esterhazy's connection with the case should not be known; but in this they were disappointed. On November 15, Mathieu Dreyfus published in a newspaper his charge that Esterhazy had written the bordereau, an accusation, the evidence for which, though already known to Picquart, Lelblois, Scheurer-Kestner, and members of the general staff, had never been made public and was now known for the first time. The truth was at last out, and the general staff and the ministry found themselves in a quandary. Soon cumulative evidence began to appear. Scheurer-Kestner declared for the innocence of Dreyfus, and a stockbroker, de Castro, familiar with Esterhazy's handwriting, announced his belief that Esterhazy had written the bordereau, which he had seen in facsimile. For Esterhazy there was nothing to do but demand an investigation and trial, and this the military leaders urged him to do; but even now they absolutely refused to reopen the Dreyfus case. It was one thing to say that the army might err; it was another to say that it had erred. Again did Billot and Méline affirm in the Chamber their belief in the guilt of Dreyfus; again did they assert that his case was closed. It was no surprise, therefore, when in January, 1898, Esterhazy was put on trial for treasonable communication with foreign governments, the court-martial refused to admit one particle of evidence which bore on the guilt or innocence of Dreyfus, who, according to the ministry and the army, had been justly and legally condemned. On January 11, 1898, Esterhazy was unanimously acquitted, after a defence which read like a romance and proved to be a romance in fact; and immediately afterward Picquart, whom Esterhazy charged with being the author of the plot against him, was thrown into prison. But an eloquent pleader was at hand. On January 13, 1898, Zola published in *Aurore* a letter denouncing the Dreyfus conviction as an abominable judicial error, and accusing Du Paty de Clam, Mercier, Billot, Boisdelle, Gonse, de Pellieux, Ravary, and indeed all connected with the conviction of Dreyfus and the acquittal of Esterhazy, with error and knavery. The government immediately placed Zola on trial, but in his

case, as in that of Esterhazy, refused to allow the introduction of any testimony bearing on the Dreyfus affair. Two things decided the case against Zola: first, the reading of a document—afterward proved to be forged—from the secret *dossier*, incriminating Dreyfus; and second, the threat of General Boisdeffre to the jury that if Zola were acquitted, the whole general staff would resign. Zola was condemned; and though a second trial was granted on a technicality, the defendant allowed it to go by default, left France, and went to England.

The entrance of Zola upon the scene roused the country to a pitch of frenzied excitement. When Méline refused to allow a discussion of the matter in the Chamber, Anti-Semites and Republicans came to blows; a Dreyfusard was hardly safe in the streets; in Algeria a small civil war broke out; and for a time it looked as if the Anti-Semitic party would in the end triumph. But the tide was soon to turn. Outside France, from Finland to America, the verdict of the courts was condemned; within France, the judgment of men most competent to weigh evidence, historical critics like Monod and Giry, was on the side of Dreyfus; and already had the German minister and the Italian under-secretary of state declared in their respective Parliaments that Dreyfus was not the guilty man. Then a new phase of the case was opened. A statement that the German emperor might authorize Schwartzkoppen to communicate evidence regarding his dealings with Esterhazy led to an interpellation in the Chamber, July 7, to which the new minister of war, Cavaignac, replied, affirming the guilt of Dreyfus. From the secret *dossier* he read three documents addressed by Panizzardi, the Italian attaché, to Schwartzkoppen, one of which referred to Dreyfus by name, the others to a person designated by the letter D, and he also quoted from an alleged confession of Dreyfus, a presentation of apparently positive proof that produced a profound sensation. Then came the news that Picquart had written to Premier Brisson, denouncing the first of these documents as a forgery, and the others as referring to some one else than Dreyfus. While men's minds were adjusting themselves to the situation, the report got abroad that Colonel Henry, successor of Picquart in the Espionnage Office, had confessed that he had forged the document containing Dreyfus' name, which had already been quoted by de Pellieux at the Zola trial and by Cavaignac in the Chamber. Then it was known that Henry had been arrested and thrown into prison; and close on the heels of this report came two startling pieces of news: Cavaignac had resigned, and Henry lay with his throat cut in his cell at the military prison.

Paris was stupefied; a revulsion of feeling began to show itself; and

although nothing had yet appeared touching the guilt or innocence of Dreyfus, it was soon evident that a revision of his case could not be long deferred. To obtain revision was, however, even now an exceedingly difficult operation. Cavaignac had already resigned; his successor, Zurlinden, on taking office, dismissed Paty de Clam; while Esterhazy slipped away to England. When, on September 17, 1898, the civil authorities won a victory over the military and the question of revision was brought before a ministerial commission, Zurlinden resigned; and



FIG. 96.—Loubet.

when the appeal was sent to the court of cassation, another civil victory, Zurlinden's successor, Chanoine, resigned and was followed by the Brisson ministry, which in its turn was succeeded by that of Dupuy. The army was fighting the case at every point. Picquart was transferred to secret prison, but before going said: "I would have people know that if there be found in my cell the rope of Lemercier Picard or the razor of Henry, I have been assassinated." This declaration was a fearful denunciation of what men were believing to be French army methods.

The question of revision was now in the hands of the court of cassation. The summing-up of the case by Counsellor Bard on October 27, 1898, was the first impartial presentation of the matter that had as yet been made. Ballot-Beaupré was appointed reporter, and in his presentation urged revision on the one small point that the paper on which the *bordereau* was written was such as Esterhazy frequently had used and could readily obtain. On June 3 the court of cassation, dealing not with the question of guilt, but only with that of the illegality of the original verdict, ordered a new trial of the case before the court-martial at Rennes. Dreyfus was at once summoned from the *Ile du Diable*, reaching Rennes on August 7, 1899.

The ramifications of the case seemed endless. President Faure had died very suddenly on February 16, 1899; and in the election of the president of the Senate, Loubet (Fig. 96), as his successor, the Parliamentary Republicans had scored a victory. Immediately there ensued a succession of demonstrations and petty riots, ridiculous outbursts of fanatical zeal on the part of Anti-Semites, Nationalists, Royalists, Clericals, and other enemies of the republic, under the lead of Déroulède, Marcel-Habert, Guérin, and others. On June 3, 1899, a body of Royalists attacked President Loubet at the Auteuil races, and the Dupuy ministry fell because it could not protect the President. Waldeck-Rousseau, the new premier (Fig. 97), got together a ministry of defence, made up of representatives of all parties, with General de Galliffet as minister of war, who immediately made removals for discipline of Zurlinden, de Pellieux, and de Négrier. All this gave added zest to the trial of Dreyfus, which lasted from August 8 to September 9. In the examination, little new evidence was adduced. The most startling circumstance was the shooting of Labori, the counsel for Zola and now of Dreyfus, who was, fortunately, but slightly injured. Mercier, Billot, Cavaignac, Zurlinden, Chanoine asserted with renewed energy their belief in the guilt of Dreyfus; Picquart's admirable testimony, like the telegraphic evidence from the German and Italian attachés, was discounted as partial; and the attitude of Dreyfus himself during the trial was much against him, inasmuch as his answers lacked frankness, his statements were often equivocal, and his admissions were made unwillingly. The position of the judges was not easy: either they were to acquit Dreyfus and deprive France of confidence in her army, or else to condemn Dreyfus and so deny justice to a seemingly innocent man. It would not appear that the case was decided on its judicial merits. Dreyfus may have been guilty, but the evidence brought forward did not prove him to be so. On September 9, 1899, by a majority of five to two, the court recon-

denmed the prisoner to ten years' imprisonment, admitting certain extenuating circumstances. The verdict, which meant victory to the army, although it injured France's good name among the nations, saved her from further disorder and possible civil anarchy. It was based not on personal justice, but on national necessity. At the suggestion of General de Gallifet, President Loubet immediately remitted the penalty and set Dreyfus at liberty ; but justice, not pity, was what Zola, Dreyfus, and the Dreyfusards had demanded, and the struggle for legal rehabilitation and a reversal of the verdict was continued.



FIG. 97 — Waldeck-Rousseau.

Slowly, as the excitement subsided, the Dreyfus affair was eventually almost forgotten. The Waldeck-Rousseau ministry, with its incongruous representation of all sorts and conditions of political thought, proved much stronger than was expected. When Déroulède, Millevoye, and Guérin continued their popular demonstrations in favor of a plebiscitary republic, and Royalists, Clericals, and Bonapartists aided and abetted the agitators, the government took energetic measures to defend the country, at the same time acting with discretion. It avoided making martyrs of the fanatics, but brought them to trial for conspiracy to overthrow the republic, with the result that on January 12, 1900, Déroulède, Buffet, and Lur-Saluces were condemned to ten years' banishment from France ; Guérin to ten years' detention in a French fortress ; and Marcel-Habert to banishment for five years. In March of the next year (1901), the government determined to unseat Déroulède and Marcel-Habert, deputies from Angoulême and Rambouillet. The motion, which

involved a deprivation of civil rights and privileges, was passed by the Chamber of Deputies after a tumultuous session by 346 to 117 votes. In April, when an election was held in Angoulême to fill Déroulède's seat, the Nationalists suffered a crushing defeat and Déroulède's former opponent was returned by a majority of 4000 votes, a result undoubtedly due in part to a quarrel which had arisen between Déroulède and the Royalists. The Nationalist leader, when living in exile at San Sebastian, on February 26, 1901, had made certain statements reflecting on the Orleanists. He declared that, two years before, when the Royalists discovered that the military revolution was not to be in their interest, they had betrayed him to the republic. The statement, whether true or false, roused the Royalists against Déroulède and nearly led to a duel between him and Buffet, the Royalist champion, in exile in Brussels. Though escapades like these deserve little attention, yet the political views that Déroulède represented and the opinions that he held regarding a plebiscitary republic were of some significance. In an interview of April 18 at San Sebastian, he defined the position of his party as follows: "The French Nationalists want a republic similar to that of the United States. The President ought to be elected by the people, by the same system as an American President, thus strengthening his position. M. Carnot, M. Casimir-Périer, M. Loubet have all complained of their powerlessness in their relations with the ministry. The Nationalists will never abandon the fight to attain this goal." The party that held these views found many sympathizers throughout France, and Déroulède's position was considerably strengthened by his renunciation of all hope of a war of revenge. He had no expectation, he said in the *Gaulois* of March, of recovering the lost provinces; since he could not ask of the sons what the fathers had been unable to accomplish. With the retirement of its chief advocate, the policy of *revanche* ceased to have political or diplomatic importance in France.

The Waldeck-Rousseau ministry, having banished the conspirators, entered upon a more serious part of its work by attacking the Clericals for their part in the troubles of the preceding years. The societies of the Assumptionist Fathers were dissolved, their paper, *La Croix*, was placed in secular hands, and the bishops who protested were deprived of their stipends. Besides these measures there were others providing for more adequate naval defences, for which purpose appropriations in the budget were readily adopted. The position of the ministry seemed secure. At the senatorial elections in February, 1900, great gains were made by the Republicans, and their opponents lost: only the Socialists winning a victory by entering the Senate for the first time. Again in

May, when the municipal elections were held, the Nationalists went mad with joy at victories in Paris. But these elections had little significance, for out of 36,000 communes the Republicans controlled 24,832, while the Nationalists secured but 153; and moreover, Paris was no longer the heart of France. The republic seemed secure, and the opening of the exposition of 1900 on the 14th of April augured well for continuance of peace.

Although, for the time being, all traces of the Dreyfus incident seemed to have disappeared, the matter was revived when on May 22 the chambers came together and adopted the resolution that "the Chamber is determined to pursue a policy of republican reform and defence of the secular state, approves of the declaration of the government, and invites it to oppose energetically a revival of the Dreyfus case." The position taken by the Chamber seems to have reassured the army and to have placed such questions outside the pale of discussion. Nevertheless, when three days later the premier happened to speak of the act of an officer, who had been detected in a treasonable correspondence, as felony, there ensued a scene of indescribable confusion, and great indignation was expressed that a civilian should dare apply a word like felon to an officer of the army. It was evident that the Dreyfus case still pursued France. General de Gallifet, driven from the ministry by this incident, was succeeded by General André, a man of energy, but of less repute. In November the Senate finally passed an amnesty bill for the purpose of relieving from public prosecution Picquart, Zola, Reinach, and others, who were demanding justice, not pardon. The measure was amended by the Chamber of Deputies in December and returned to the Senate. There the amendment, which excluded all unauthorized religious communities from the privilege of the law, was passed, and on promulgation became law. Zola, in an open letter to the President of the republic, protested against the measure as a denial of justice, declaring that the affair would remain open "as long as France did not know and repair the injustice." Dreyfus himself, in a letter to the French prime minister, asserted his entire innocence and asked for a special inquiry, on the ground that he still retained the right to defend his honor and to have the truth proclaimed. But the Chamber had rejected an amendment to the amnesty bill, designed to leave open the Dreyfus case. Several years later, however, the attorney-general made an official examination of the case, and in 1904 recommended a new trial.

Just before the meeting of the chambers on November 7, 1900, Waldeck-Rousseau, the prime minister, had declared in a speech at Toulouse that during the forthcoming session the government proposed

to enter upon a war with the church, because through the religious associations in France, it had become an "occult and rival" power to the state. Statistics were published showing that the real property of the clerical congregations amounted to the enormous sum of 1,100,000,000 francs, and at the opening of the chambers, therefore, the country was not surprised to hear of the proposal to introduce at the earliest opportunity a law on religious associations. The long-awaited bill was presented at the reopening of the session in January, 1901. It had two distinct objects in view, first the reform of the system of corporate associations, and second, the regulation and restriction of the religious orders and the practice of holding property in mortmain. It forbade any one to form a society, either secular or religious, without the consent of the government, and in default of such consent threatened such society with dissolution and confiscation of its property. It also required that associations composed of Frenchmen and foreigners should be duly incorporated and that bodies of Frenchmen living in common should obtain special authorization by legislative act. The Jesuits were to be deprived of their educational functions and persons educated by the orders to be prevented from taking service under the state. The war which was begun when Gambetta denounced clericalism in 1879, which was continued in 1880 and 1881 by Freycinet and Ferry, and by Waldeck-Rousseau in 1900, when the congregations of the Assumptionists had been dissolved, was now, the minister declared, to be carried to the issue for the defence of the republic and the unity of France.

Even before the measure had been introduced into the Chamber, the Pope had entered the conflict. In a letter to the French bishops he declared that the influence of France in China, in the Levant, in Constantinople, Syria, and Lebanon, was due to her position as the upholder of the rights of Roman Catholic Christians; that should she disperse, despoil, and expel the orders in France, the Pope would be justified in conferring this prerogative upon another state (Germany), which, for the sake of becoming the recognized defender of Christianity in the near and far East, was only too ready to grant liberties to the church and the orders. After the measure had been presented, Waldeck-Rousseau, in reply to an interpellation on the Pope's letter, declared that the temporal power lay in the hands of the state, and that it was not for the Pope to interfere. Toward the end of January the debate on the measure began, and lasted till the end of June. The twenty-one clauses of the bill were adopted, one after another, by strong majorities, the discussion being peaceful, and on the whole dignified, although amendment after amendment was rejected. To the twelfth clause,

which concerned the dissolution of foreign associations, the Socialists objected, because it threw, they thought, too much power into the hands of the government. After some discussion, the government accepted a Socialist's amendment directed against trusts. Still more excitement arose over clause 14, which declared that no member of an unauthorized association would be allowed to direct a school or to give instruction unless he could prove that he had severed his connection with the association. This clause, because it raised the question of the liberty of education, was deemed the most important of the entire bill, and the strength of the government was well tested in its consideration. After a serious interpellation on the strike of the dockers at Marseilles, Aynard and le Mun attacked the clause, but Bourgeois successfully defended it, alleging that the education given by the religious orders was injurious to the children who were to become citizens of France. In the end all amendments were rejected, and on March 25 the article was voted by 312 votes to 216. From this time, the debate on the bill moved more rapidly. On the Perreau amendment only, by which the deputy from the Rhone modified somewhat the government measure regarding bequests to dissolved orders, was the opposition successful. On the 29th of March, the last clauses having been accepted with one amendment by L'Hopiteau, the entire measure was voted by a majority of 79. To the last, its passage was opposed by the extreme Right and by a small fraction of the extreme Left, who deemed it a menace to liberty. The debate in the Senate began on June 11, and on the 24th the bill, slightly amended, was voted by 173 to 99. The amendments, one of which reduced the period within which authorization was to be secured from six months to three, and another providing that a certain portion of the assets of a dissolved order should be turned over to its members, were accepted by the Chamber on June 30, and the measure, whether for good or ill, became a law of France.

The enforcement of the law was begun at once by a ministerial ordinance requiring all religious orders to submit to the jurisdiction of the bishop in whose diocese the chief seat of their order was located, and to present copies of their statutes approved by that prelate, with a complete list of members and an inventory of their property and resources. Within the three months allowed by the law for the purpose more than one-half of the many religious establishments in France applied for authorization. Others, like the Jesuits, Carmelites and Marists, and many Carthusians and Dominicans, feeling that their petition would be refused, broke up their communities and left the country. In March, 1903, the government decided to reject all future applications from

religious orders and the work of expulsion continued. Some of the orders were banished, among others the Carthusians, whose famous monastery at Chartreuse was closed. Open resistance had been steadily growing and in many localities riots and violence attended the enforcement of the law, but the government remained firm, and the opposition was easily suppressed. A bill to establish state schools to replace those of the religious congregations was followed, in 1904, by a measure forbidding all teaching by religious orders whether authorized or unauthorized. These measures practically completed the government's policy in regard to the religious associations.

But another phase of the question was rapidly coming into prominence. The policy of interference entered upon at the very outset by the papacy was continued in a general way during the entire conflict. With the adoption of the bill and vigorous enforcement of it by Premier Combes the relations between France and the Vatican became more and more strained. Finally, in 1904, an open rupture occurred. The government made the announcement that diplomatic relations with the Vatican were severed and recalled the French ambassador. A campaign for the complete separation of church and state was then begun in the anti-clerical press, and in November a bill was laid before the deputies for this purpose.

The Waldeck-Rousseau government had shown exceptional strength in passing the associations law with so few changes, and although charged by the Clericals with yielding to the demands of the Free Masons, on account of the associations law, and by the Conservatives with yielding to the demands of the Socialists, on account of another far-reaching measure relating to pensions for aged and infirm workingmen, it continued to hold its own. In the general elections in April, 1902, it again obtained a good working majority of about 80. Immediately afterward the ministry resigned, having continued in office for two and a half years. M. Emil Combes, whose views were closely in accord with those of the retiring premier, assumed the leadership of the government. Besides vigorously carrying out the enforcement of the law against the associations, and severing relations with the Vatican, the Combes ministry was very active in other matters.



FIG. 97. M. Emil Combes.

The scheme for colonial and national defence, adopted by the previous government, involving new arsenals, battleships, and cruisers at an outlay of 500,000,000 francs was accepted, a plan for subsidizing the merchant marine was inaugurated in 1902, and special appropriations voted for harbors, internal canals, and waterways. Indeed, the navy received unusual attention during these years. The budget estimate for 1903 increased the item for that branch of the service while the item for the army was cut down. In economic and financial matters the policy of the government was distinctly progressive. In 1902 the conversion of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. government bonds into 3 secured a saving of nearly seven millions. Measures for increasing the revenue were proposed, among which was one providing for a non-progressive income tax of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on all incomes over \$100, and a rent tax of 4 per cent. The government's dealings with the labor problem were generally successful. Besides committing itself to the old age pension system, it fixed ten hours as the maximum of time for daily employment on railroads and eight hours in mines, arsenals, and naval establishments. Foreign affairs, under the efficient direction of Delcassé, were very well managed. A complete reconciliation was effected with Italy, which laid the basis for commercial relations of great importance to both countries. The alliance with Russia gave to France a prestige in international matters highly gratifying to Frenchmen, even if the substantial advantages were largely in favor of Russia. With England cordial relations were gradually established, and in 1904 these culminated in an important treaty securing to France a dominant position in Morocco and settling other disputed points. Early in 1904 a violent attack upon the alleged incompetent administration of the navy forced Combes to consent to the appointment of a commission to investigate the charges. A little later occurred the exposure of an elaborate system of espionage maintained by the minister of war upon the officers of the army, which aroused much indignation. Indeed, toward the end of the year the opposition to the ministry became so formidable that Combes resigned early in January, feeling that the bitter antagonism to him personally might endanger the success of the government's project for the separation of church and state. He was succeeded by M. Rouvier, a staunch supporter of this policy and pledged to a measure annulling the existing relations between the state and the church as based on the Concordat of 1801.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE EUROPEAN STATES TO THE PRESENT TIME: ENGLAND AND THE LESSER NATIONALITIES.

THE return of Gladstone to power in January, 1886, marked the introduction into English politics of a question that was to shape the Parliamentary history of the next few years and disrupt at last the



FIG. 98.—Joseph Chamberlain. [From a photograph by W. & S. Stuart, London, 1900 (Reid).]

Liberal party—the question of Home Rule. The ensuing months were full of excitement and surprises. Unfortunately the prime minister, when deciding to take up the Irish cause, had not consulted all his col-

leagues, so that many of them were unprepared for the definite announcement of his policy made in December, 1885. Chamberlain (Fig. 98), president of the Board of Trade, when he heard that Gladstone was planning to yield the point of a separate legislative assembly for Ireland, with full power to deal with Irish affairs, resigned and was followed out of the party by Trevelyan, Heneage, and Collings. Others waited to withdraw until the full scheme was presented and the opportunity given to vote on the measure in Parliament. On April 8, 1886, in a speech three hours and a half in length, Gladstone outlined the bill. He demanded a legislature for Ireland competent to deal with all Irish subjects not specially excluded, with a ministry dependent on it; and a general power of taxation, with the right of applying to her own uses



FIG. 99. —Lord Hartington.

all customs and excise revenues, all other revenue going into the imperial exchequer. According to his scheme, no Irish members were to sit in Parliament, so that the only tie between the two kingdoms would be the person of the sovereign. The scheme dissatisfied a large group of the Liberal members; and their discontent became the greater when Gladstone introduced the land purchase bill, which Chamberlain characterized as "a bribe to Irish landlords at the risk of the English taxpayer." This measure called for an issue of fifty million pounds for the purpose of

buying up the estates of such landlords as would be willing to sell, and parceling them out in such a way as would make possible their passing gradually into the hands of the tenants. The debate on the bills was long and exciting, and both in Parliament and outside in the city the interest was intense. But the fate of the bill was sealed when it became known that Lord Hartington (Fig. 99), Bright (PLATE XI.), and others were preparing to follow the lead of Chamberlain and would vote against it. In June, 1886, it was defeated on the second reading, and Gladstone's first effort to satisfy the Irish members ended in disastrous failure.

The new party, Liberal Unionists, headed by Hartington and Chamberlain, had condemned the grant of a native Parliament for Ireland as fatal to the unity of the kingdom; so that when, in June, Gladstone

PLATE XI.



John Bright.

From a photograph by J. May & Co. London. 1/10/1864

dissolved Parliament and appealed to the country on the Home Rule issue, they fought that issue before the electors as dangerous to the welfare of the country. The elections were bitterly contested. To the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists the time was critical, and, convinced that reconciliation with the Ireland of boycotters and moonlighters was a hopeless chimera, they thus presented the matter at the hustings. As a result, the Liberals were defeated and the majority against Home Rule was increased to 114. On July 20, 1886, Gladstone resigned and was succeeded by Lord Salisbury (Fig. 100), who at once formed a cabinet of Conservatives only; for the Liberal Unionists, though promising him their loyal support, refused at first to hold office.



FIG. 100.—Lord Salisbury.

To Ireland the result was disheartening, and the Nationalist party prepared to retaliate. Obstructionist methods were adopted in the House of Commons; in Belfast, street riots took place; and during the autumn of 1886, crime became epidemic in Ireland. Though the Conservatives had been warned by the Liberals that their policy must be one either of conciliation or of coercion, they were loath to adopt restrictive measures, and did not do so until the "plan of campaign" forced their hand. This plan, framed by the Parnellite leaders, had for its object the ordering of a new campaign under which the tenants were to pay all disputed rents, not to the landlords, but to the Land League. Immediately and inevitably there followed a series of distressing evictions in Ireland. The government intervened with energy and passed the Irish

crimes act in July, 1887, after a course of obstruction on the part of Parnellites and Gladstonians, so persistent as to bring about a modification of procedure and the application of "closure" rules to prevent the opposition from wasting the time of Parliament. By the crimes act, trial by jury was forbidden to persons accused under the act, and the powers of the executive in Ireland were increased. A reorganization of the Conservative ministry, due to the resignation of Lord Iddesleigh (Fig. 101) from the Foreign Office and of Lord Randolph Churchill



FIG. 101.—Lord Iddesleigh. (From a photograph by Bassano, London, England.)

from the exchequer, resulted in the summons of Goschen, a Liberal Unionist, as secretary of the exchequer, with W. H. Smith as leader of the House. In March, 1888, A. J. Balfour succeeded Michael Hicks-Beach as secretary for Ireland, and proved to be a firm, imperturbable, and resourceful leader in that difficult position. But while thus applying coercion, the Conservatives were ready to take up measures of relief for the purpose of ameliorating social and industrial conditions in England and improving the state of the tenantry in Ireland. To this end they first authorized a reduction of rents in 1887; and in 1888, and again in 1891, provided for the expenditure of

£50,000,000, to enable the tenants to buy their lands on easy terms of repayment. A permanent land commission was appointed, to make yearly reports. In 1899 the number of tenants who had made application under the land purchase acts of 1885, 1888, 1891, and 1896 was 46,385, and the total amount actually loaned or promised £16,510,483. So far as could be gathered from the reports of 1898 and 1899, the policy had had on the whole a good effect, and probably had aided the work of pacification. Certain is it that the crimes of the preceding decade had measurably decreased.

Early in the Parliamentary session of 1888, the coalition ministry gave evidence of its intention to devote much of its time to questions of local administration, a decision that was induced not so much by the knowledge that England's local government had long ceased to be a system and needed remodelling, as by the desire to satisfy the demands

of the large Radical party in Parliament which supported the ministry. The local government bill of 1888 dealt with the counties in much the same way as the corporation act of 1835 had dealt with the municipalities, by taking the control of these districts from the local aristocracy or country gentlemen, and giving it to governing boards elected by the ratepayers. These county councils, of which that for London was to become second in importance only to Parliament itself, were chosen for three years, one member coming from each electoral district. The importance of the change lay in this, that whereas hitherto nearly every person entrusted with administrative powers had been, theoretically at least, appointed by the crown, by the new law he was to be elected by the ratepayers. Such a change amounted to a revolution. The powers granted by the bill were large, and it was intended that they should be increased until practically the county councils should become in all local matters, excepting the judicial, the supreme authority. The measure marked a great advance in the application of the democratic principle. Taken in conjunction with the act of 1889, which transferred the government of counties in Scotland to a council elected as in England; with the act of 1894, which extended the system to the rural parishes and broke the monopoly of the squire and the parson; and with that of 1898, whereby the same form of government was granted to Ireland and elected county councils were substituted for the nominated bodies that had hitherto been supreme, it marked a complete change, both in theory and practice, in the local government in the United Kingdom. Other measures which redounded to the credit of the coalition were the education bill, which was favored by the majority of the towns, and substituted grants of money for fees of parents; the Goschen conversion bill, which met with almost no opposition and provided for one of the most successful financial transactions of modern times; and the naval bill, according to which it was proposed to utilize the surplus resulting from the conversion operation just mentioned for the enlargement of the navy.

During this period the Irish party lost its leader and its unity. In 1887 the *Times*, at the close of a series of articles on "Parnellism and Crime," published a letter purporting to have been written by Parnell, containing this sentence: "Though I regret the accident of Lord F. Cavendish's death, I cannot refuse to admit that Burke got no more than his deserts." Immediately Parnell began an action against the *Times*, denouncing the letter as a forgery. This it proved to be; and after the confession of the forger, Pigott, and his suicide in 1889, the case was settled out of court, February 3, 1889, the *Times* paying £2000 damages.

But a Parliamentary committee had been appointed to investigate the charges against Parnell, and although it exonerated him from the heavier ones, it accused him and his colleagues of coercion and intimidation in order to drive landlords from the country, of stirring up sedition and crime, of having invited and accepted the assistance of the physical force party in America, and of other criminal acts. Closely on the heels of this damaging report came the startling news of Parnell's connection with the O'Shea divorce suit and of his moral degradation. But even this did not shake the faith of the Irish party in their leader, and it was only after the vigorous protests of the dissenters and, finally, Mr. Gladstone's threat to retire unless Parnell withdrew, that about 38 of his followers seceded and formed an Anti-Parnellite party with Justin McCarthy as leader. A bitter strife between the two factions began, in which the clergy generally sided against Parnell. The latter continued his great fight almost single handed till his health broke under the terrible strain and he died in 1891. But so powerful had been his influence that his party continued without him as a Parnellite section under John Redmond, demanding the independence of the Church and the separation of England and Ireland.

The election of 1892 followed upon the dissolution of Parliament after a continuous sitting of six years, and resulted in the Liberals securing 274 seats, the Parnellites 9, the McCarthyites 72, the Liberal Unionists 46, and the Conservatives 269. This meant a majority of but 40 for the Home Rule party, for although the electoral manifestoes emphasized the need of improving the condition of labor and the laborer, Home Rule was the paramount issue. True to his programme, Gladstone promised a bill amending the provisions for the government of Ireland, which was prepared, as said the queen's speech, "to afford contentment to the Irish people, important relief to Parliament, and additional securities for the strength and union of the empire." On February 13 Gladstone, in a speech of over two hours, presented the second Home Rule measure. He demanded for Ireland a legislature of two houses, a legislative council, and a legislative assembly, the first of which should consist of 48 members chosen by £20 voters for eight years, and the other of 103 members chosen by Parliamentary electors. This body was to possess power to make laws, except in certain specified particulars. He demanded an executive, like a colonial governor, who should have power to summon, dissolve, and prorogue the legislature, and should be assisted by an executive committee, with whose consent he could veto bills. He demanded that Irish peers should sit in the House of Lords, and 80 members in the House of Commons, who, though they were to be allowed all privileges

of debate, were not to be competent to vote on matters not dealing with Ireland. The bill provided also for an Irish exchequer empowered the Irish Parliament to impose all taxes except customs duties, excise duties, and postage, and, lastly, gave Ireland an independent judiciary with no appeal to the House of Lords. At once a violent opposition showed itself. The debates during February, March, and April were heated and acrimonious, and, after passing the second reading on April 8, the bill finally went into consideration by the House as committee. Then, on June 29, Gladstone, convinced that the opposition was simply talking to obstruct the passage of the bill, moved that groups of clauses be voted at specified times, whether debated or not. This "closure by compartments," or the "guillotine," as it was called, was adopted June 30. On July 29, at the end of the debate, Irish Nationalists and Conservatives, wearied by the long strain and wrought up to a high pitch by excitement and personal rivalries, took advantage of the incompetency of the chairman and engaged in a pitched battle, which resulted in battered hats and torn clothing. Such was the disgraceful climax to the three months of debate. The bill passed its third reading on September 1, and was sent to the House of Lords; but the peers, feeling that a majority of 34, made up entirely of the Irish votes, hardly indicated the will of the people, refused by a vote of 419 to 41 to pass the bill to a second reading.

This was the deathblow to Home Rule for the time. On assuming the leadership of the Liberal party in March, 1894, Lord Rosebery alienated the Irish by saying that "before Irish Home Rule was conceded by the imperial Parliament, England, as the predominant member of the partnership of the three kingdoms, would have to be convinced of its justice." Some time later Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman declared that it was impossible that the Liberal party should promise in all circumstances to put Home Rule at the head of its programme, and in the election of 1900 it was not made an issue.

Nevertheless Irish interests continued prominent in British politics. In 1898 the Irish local government bill and the Irish land bill were passed, the latter amending and supplementing the land purchase acts of 1885, 1888, and 1891, and making the purchase of land easier by lightening the terms for the purchaser. Two years later the queen's visit to Ireland did much to conciliate the Irish. Acts were passed providing for a readier determination of the compensation due Irish tenants for improvement of their agricultural holdings, for relieving Irish landlords in the payment of tithes where the rent of lands upon which the tithe charge rested was variable. But none of these measures gave satisfaction to the Irish leaders. In 1902 the United

Irish League increased greatly in strength and inaugurated a systematic agrarian agitation. Its utterances became more and more defiant and its agitation took the form of intimidation, boycotting, non-payment of rent, and general incitement to lawlessness. This led to the revival of the crimes act of 1887 and the enforcement of several of its provisions relating to summary jurisdiction, special juries, and change of venue. This did not improve matters much, and with the extension of coercive measures to new districts resistance merely increased.



FIG. 102. —John Burns. (From a photograph by James Ball, London, England.)

Finally, in 1903 the government adopted a more conciliatory policy. Many of the coercive measures were abandoned and a new land bill was announced. The measure was introduced by the secretary for Ireland, Mr. Wyndham, in March, and became a law the following August. It provided for an appropriation of twelve million pounds and a loan of one hundred million to enable tenants to purchase the interests of landlords in the lands which they occupied. The transfers were not made compulsory, as the Irish insisted they should be, but voluntary and dependent upon the willingness of the landlord to sell. A committee, known as the Estates Commissioners, was charged with the supervision of all purchase operations. The principles of the bill were frankly endorsed by the Irish, but opinion as to the separate provisions were by no means unanimous. In the following year their party demanded Home Rule and an Irish University at Dublin. Nevertheless the feeling between Ireland and England had decidedly improved, and

during a visit of the king and queen to the island, in the summer of 1903, they were accorded a most cordial reception.

Early in the eighties new influences had begun to work, transforming the old democratic movement into a more progressive liberalism, and shifting the centre of political gravity from the middle to the wage-earning class and from the provinces to London. And these changes were in large measure due to the rise of the socialistic and labor organizations. Until 1885 scarcely anything had been done by either the Conservative or Liberal parties to further social reform, legislation having been chiefly in the interest of the middle class. In 1881 was founded the "Democratic Federation" which became the "Social Democratic Federation" in 1883. In the same year appeared the "Socialist League" of William Morris, organized in a manner similar to that of the "Federation" and having in view similar objects. Then came the "Fabian Society," not so much a distinct organization as a kind of school for disseminating socialistic ideas. Its members, rejecting the policy of force, aimed to enlighten public opinion, and, if possible, to fill the Liberal and Radical parties with the leaven of socialism. They advocated restriction upon private ownership of land and capital, state and municipal control of many undertakings then in the hands of private persons, progressive absorption by taxation of unearned incomes, and the supplementing of private charity by public organization. They encouraged the extension of the factory acts, the passage of an eight-hour bill, the establishment of free government schools, the providing of work for the unemployed, and the remodelling of poor-law relief. They demanded shorter Parliaments, payment of members, proportional representation, abolition of the House of Lords, separation of church and state, and abolition of plural voting, according to the principle of "one man, one vote." The advocates of this movement were to be found largely in the centre and south of England. Branches were formed in Scotland, but none in Ireland. As time went on, the Socialists claimed that the Radical wing of the Liberal party was becoming permeated with socialistic and collectivist ideas; and they were able to point to the London County Council, where the Progressist party, largely on the issue of municipal socialism, won a notable victory in 1892, and again in 1898 and 1901. In the latter year the victory was decisive, the party winning 84 seats to 34 obtained by the Conservatives, Liberal Unionists, and Independents combined.

In Northern England, the socialistic movement merged into the labor movement. The organization of the Labor party was due to the discontent aroused among the workmen because of the conservative policy of the old trade-unions, which were content to remain little more than

relief societies. The new party was intended to be a fighting and prosecuting organization, and among its most prominent leaders were Keir Hardie, Tom Mann, and, chief of all, John Burns (Fig. 102), the last named of whom, the most remarkable of all the labor leaders, three times elected member of the London County Council from Battersea, was the organizer of the great dock strike in 1889, and member of Parliament from Battersea in 1892, 1895, and 1900. Owing to the success of the "lucifer matches" strike of 1888, the gas stokers' strike of 1888, and the dock strike of 1889, the labor movement gained great headway, and in 1893 was formed the Independent Labor party, with a definite programme for the purpose of obtaining seats in Parliament. There existed no very essential difference between the programme of the Labor party and that of the Socialists. The Labor party, built as it was on a socialistic foundation, demanded the eight-hour day, state ownership of the means of production and distribution, abolition of landlordism, taxation of ground-rents and values, nationalization of railroads and canals, and in general the abolition of the House of Lords and hereditary government, adult suffrage, triennial Parliaments, payment of members, the reform of the educational system, and a law providing for compensation to workmen in case of injury, as well as the employer's liability therefor, and finally old-age pensions raised by a tax on incomes. Though the workingmen as a class were to have at one time or another a number of representatives in Parliament, John Burns, Keir Hardie, Burt, and Fenwick, the Socialist and Labor parties had not succeeded until 1900 in electing a single member. In 1900, though many candidates were presented, only two, Keir Hardie and Bell of Derby, were returned as avowedly Labor members, John Burns standing as a Liberal. The truth is, that inasmuch as both Conservatives and Liberals were willing to consider democratic and social legislation, there seemed to be no place for an aggressive Labor and Socialist party.

When the House of Lords rejected Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill in 1892 two courses were left open to the premier. He could either dissolve Parliament and test the judgment of the peers by an appeal to the country, or he could remain in office in order to put through the other measures which at the opening of the session he had promised to bring forward. He chose the latter course, partly to strengthen the Liberal party by the passage of important measures, partly to gain time in which to denounce the House of Lords before the next general election. On September 27 he said: "If there is on one side a determined nation, that nation will not be baffled by a phalanx of 500 peers. If the work of the country is done in the House of Commons, if the

deliberate will of the nation is expressed in the House of Commons, if the House of Lords are irresponsible, whereas we hold a commission for which we must give an account, then I say we cannot give way to the House of Lords, although they bear high-sounding titles and although they sit in a gilded chamber." The attack of the Liberals on the peers was made more severe by the opposition of the House of Lords to the employer's liability bill, which had to be abandoned in 1894, to the Scotch sea-fisheries bill, which also had to be abandoned, and by the two amendments made by the peers to the parish councils bill, which, as time was short, the House of Commons was forced unwillingly to accept. During February, 1894, the Liberals carried on a veritable campaign for the abolition of the upper House; and in his last speech, March 6, Gladstone declared that "the difference of mental habit and fundamental tendency between the two Houses had created a state of things which in the judgment of the government could not continue," and that "the controversy must go forward to its issue." On the day after this historic speech was delivered, Gladstone resigned office and was succeeded by Lord Rosebery.

The Liberal party could ill endure the loss of its leader. Although Lord Rosebery (Fig. 103) announced that he was fully in sympathy with the Gladstonian programme and was prepared to present many projects to Parliament of a distinctly radical character, yet he alienated the Irish party by his lukewarm policy on Home Rule. The Nationalists, with a few Radicals like Labouchere, who did not want a leader from the House of Lords, would certainly have defeated the government had any unexpected legislation been proposed. But as nothing of this sort occurred, the session of sixteen months from March, 1894, to June, 1895, was devoid of interest. Measures were brought forward on which the opposition tried every now and again to trip up the ministry, but failed, though once they reduced the majority as low as seven. Finally, on a matter of small importance connected with the subject of *conflict of interest*, the government



FIG. 103. Lord Rosebery. Photograph taken at the residence of Lord Rosebery, 1894.

defeating the ministry by a very small majority; and Rosebery, glad of the opportunity, at once resigned. His successor, Lord Salisbury, dissolved Parliament in June, 1895. The general elections were of striking interest. The Liberals were unquestionably disheartened; for during their three years' tenure they had not only accomplished very little, but they had failed to deal effectively with any of the great social problems; they had wasted time on the Home Rule bill and had got from it no adequate return, and the great promises of the Newcastle programme of 1892 had not been fulfilled. Popular feeling on the subject found expression at the polls: the Liberal party was everywhere defeated, and it returned to Parliament with only 177 supporters instead of 260, while the Conservatives gained 340 seats, the Liberal Unionists 71, the Parnellites 12, and the Anti-Parnellites 70. The strength of the government was greater than it had been for thirty years; and even without the Liberal Unionists, the Conservatives would have had a majority. But the ministry that Lord Salisbury formed was strictly a coalition cabinet; for Hartington, Chamberlain, and Goschen now became members. This union between the Conservatives and their allies proved to be sound and secure, and for the ensuing five years the position of the government was at no time in peril. On the other hand, the Liberals were in no way a homogeneous body; they were composed of old Liberals whose work was done, Radicals whose programme was too socialistic for the Whiggish element, dissenters whose temperance propaganda and desire for disestablishment in Scotland and Wales increased party disunity, and lastly the Irish members, divided among themselves into Dillonites, Healyites, and Parnellites (Redmondites), who had already taken offence at the attitude of the leaders on Home Rule.

The five years from 1895 to 1900, during which the Conservative-Unionist coalition was in power, and before new elections should be held, were marked by a series of incidents unexpected and very disquieting to England's foreign and colonial relations. The Armenian massacres, the Venezuelan dispute, the Jameson raid, the trouble with France in the Congo and Niger regions, the Fashoda matter, the Boer war, and the Chinese difficulty, all of which are discussed elsewhere, were events exciting enough for the most ardent imperialist. It was in keeping with the traditions of the Conservative party that the queen should have celebrated in 1897 her diamond jubilee—the sixtieth anniversary of her accession—during the ministry of the statesman who had been with Disraeli at the congress of Berlin. This demonstration of Great Britain's imperial greatness was marked by a pageant on June 22, 1897,

which was participated in by representatives from all parts of the imperial world, by a conference of colonial premiers looking to a closer union between Great Britain and her colonies, by testimonials of affection from the queen's subjects wherever they were to be found, and by a general exaltation of the imperial idea and of the new and enlarged conception of colonial relationship. And above all, it bore witness to the loyal admiration by all her subjects of the queen herself as a constitutional sovereign and an example of political wisdom and domestic virtue. Her reign, the longest in English history, had been characterized by more and greater constitutional and social changes than had any reign that preceded it, so that the Victorian era will always stand for steady and unbroken advance along the line of enlightened and progressive liberalism within and of colonial development without.

To both of these results the Salisbury government contributed. Its foreign and colonial policy we have examined in other connections, but its internal policy must be considered here. The coalition ministry, having decided to concentrate its legislative efforts upon questions that were social rather than political, and to meet the demands of the agricultural and artisan classes as far as possible, presented in its initial programmes few radical propositions, but many others promising social reformation and relief. Among the most important measures that became laws during these five years were: the bill modifying the elementary school system, passed March 25, 1897; the bill passed July 15, 1897, providing for compensation for accidents, which gave greater facilities to workmen for enforcing claims against employers in case of accidents received in the line of duty; the Irish land bill and the Irish local government bill both passed in 1898; and in addition, measures regulating explosion in mines, relieving tender consciences in the matter of vaccination, enabling occupiers of small dwellings to purchase their homes, and creating a department of agriculture for Ireland.

In the meantime the Liberal party was undergoing disruption. The support given by the Irish Nationalists to the education bill aroused the anger of the Nonconformist members of the party, who refused to continue the alliance. The Irish party had made powerful efforts to bring about unity within its ranks, but without success, for the differences between the factions seemed irremovable. This split between the Nationalists and the Liberals was probably enlarged by the change of Liberal leaders. On October 6, 1896, Lord Rosebery resigned his place as leader of the Liberal party, largely because of his inability to conform to the party's declared policy on the Eastern question. Sir W. Harcourt (Fig. 104) at once became the new leader of the party,

though in December, 1898, he withdrew from this post as leader of "a party rent by sectional disputes and personal interests," refusing to be



FIG. 104. Sir W. Harcourt. (From a photograph by Elliott & Fry, London, England.)

a candidate for any contested position and glad to resign a "disputed leadership beset by distracted sections and conflicting interests." In close sympathy with his view stood John Morley. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Fig. 105) was selected as Harcourt's successor; but at best the position of the Liberal party, without efficient leadership, unity among its members, or a cogent and consistent policy, was discouraging for the future. During the summer debates in 1900 in the House of Commons the party over and over again displayed its utter demoralization. When on July 25 the government asked for an appropriation for the Colonial Office, a motion to reduce the amount of the colonial secretary's

salary, as a protest against his policy, was made by Sir Wilfrid Lawson. When the vote was taken on this amendment, the Liberals split into three sections: one, headed by Sir W. Lawson, voted for the amendment; a second, led by Sir E. Grey, voted against it; while a third, under the leader of the opposition, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, declaring that the House had not been sufficiently informed upon many points which it desired to understand, refused to vote at all. The minority of 52 which voted against the government included most of the Irish Nationalist members, a group of the advanced Radical section, and a few Independents, such as Labouchere, Bryce, John Morley, and Leonard Courtney.

Notwithstanding the fact that the attention of the government was distracted during the year 1900 by the prolongation of the Boer war and the controversy over the reorganization of the War Office, a very considerable amount of necessary legislation touching the social and economic condition of the kingdom was set on foot. The deceased-wife's-sister bill, which had been before Parliament for seventeen years, was passed for the third time (1883, 1896, 1900) by the House of Lords on June 22, 1900, in the form of a measure relating to colonial mar-

riages. The bill provided that a marriage between a man and his deceased wife's sister, when lawfully contracted in a British colony, should be deemed binding anywhere in the United Kingdom. In April, 1901, the House of Commons, which hitherto had preferred to postpone the measure on account of the decided majority against it, took up the debate again, but only to postpone it once more. During the next few years it reached a second reading several times. The workman's compensation act of 1897 was extended so as to confer upon agricultural laborers the benefits which the original measure had granted to other classes of employees. Among other legislation a merchants' shipping bill was passed, limiting the liability of shipowners and



FIG. 105. Sir H. Campbell Bannerman. (From a photograph by Elliott & Fry, London, England.)

dockowners and relieving them from the excessive amount of damages which they frequently had to pay under the old law; also acts for preventing accidents to railway employees, for prohibiting child labor in mines, for granting to local authorities the power to establish or acquire houses for workingmen's dwellings outside their own jurisdiction, and for controlling limited liability companies. Most important of all was the Australian commonwealth bill, embodying the new constitution accepted by the principal colonies of Australia, which, passing both Houses, received the royal assent on July 13, 1900. On August 8 Parliament was prorogued. In accordance with general anticipation, however, the Conservatives decided to try their strength with the coun-

try; and Parliament having been dissolved on September 25, new writs were issued for a general election.

In the manifestoes of the leaders to the voters at large, and in the election addresses issued by various candidates to their constituents, were to be found the statements upon which each party rested its claims. Lord Salisbury showed unmistakably that the Conservatives demanded a continuation of the policy adopted toward the South African republics, on the ground that "the steady submission of those who have been overcome in the field cannot be expected unless they see that the government of the queen has so much parliamentary strength that there is no hope of driving it from its policy by persistent resistance or agitation." Lord Rosebery, on the other hand, in an open letter, declared that no voter could support a government which "had neglected that social legislation for which the country called, and to which it was pledged; which had so managed foreign affairs as to alienate all foreign nations, while keeping its own in a hurricane of disquietude and distrust; and which, by its want of military insight and preparation, had exposed the country to humiliations unparalleled in English history since the American war." The Conservatives confined the issue to the single question of the war in South Africa; the Liberals, charging the Conservatives with the failure to redeem nearly all the pledges of social reform given in 1895, declared, especially in an address by Sir E. Grey, for an open door and free-trade policy abroad, the avoidance of further large territorial responsibilities, and in home affairs a steady progress in social legislation. Home Rule was practically dropped from their programme. In striking contrast to the definiteness of the Conservative issue was the indefinite and largely negative position taken by the Liberals, who were able to do little more than advocate, as they had in the past, "peace, retrenchment, and reform." The Conservatives gained 334 seats, the Liberal Unionists 68, the Liberals 184, the Labor party 2, the Irish Nationalists 82. The coalition ministry would have, therefore, a majority of 134 votes, and, counting the support given by the 80 Imperial Liberals, a majority, on questions relating to South Africa and similar imperial issues, of nearly 300. Significant aspects of the election were the increased Unionist vote in the cities, the defeat of such pro-Boers as Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Dr. Clark, and Philip Stanhope, the loss of the Orkney and Shetland Islands by the Liberals for the first time since 1837, and of Scotland for the first time in history.

The opposition, beaten at the polls, took steps to strengthen its defences. The Irish Nationalists, already consolidated under William O'Brien, formed themselves after the elections into an Irish party, from

which Healy and Carew were excluded, for the purpose of utilizing the full force of the party in Parliamentary warfare. In like manner plans were set on foot for a reorganization of the Liberal party. The council of the Imperial Liberal Association, led by Sir E. Grey and Lord Brassey, adopted a resolution favoring reconstruction on the basis of social reform and imperial federation. At a dinner in November Lord Brassey affirmed that the principles of the Imperial Liberals were those of W. E. Forster—equality before the law, progress, the abolition of class distinctions, freedom of the press, a determination that neither king nor peer nor mob should take away the liberty of any British subject, and finally, faith in a British realm extending all the world over, where “the children whom the mother had sent out should become self-governing communities united with her in a bond of peace.” This, the doctrine of the older Liberals, was declared by Lord Brassey to be the imperialism of the new organization, the union of whose discordant sections, he added, would be best promoted by the leadership of Lord Rosebery. But Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman severely criticized the Imperial Liberals for having formed a separate organization, and the Liberal party seemed hopelessly divided.

Before Parliament met on December 3 the Salisbury cabinet underwent reconstruction. Lord Salisbury retired from foreign affairs and was succeeded by Lord Lansdowne, whose place in the War Office was taken by St. John Brodrick. Goschen withdrew from the Admiralty, Ridley from the Home Office, and Chaplin from the Local Government Board, to be succeeded by the Earl of Selborne, C. T. Ritchie, and Walter Long. Mr. Brodrick’s attitude toward the administrative vices of the War Office placed the question of army reorganization and reform in the forefront of the government’s programme for the year.

In January, 1901, the alarming reports which had begun to be circulated regarding the health of the queen (PLATE XII.) found confirmation in official statements. The *Court Gazette*, always cautious and conservative, at last on January 18 spoke of her impaired health and inability to transact business. It was evident that her strength was gradually failing, until on January 22, at Osborne, Isle of Wight, at the advanced age of eighty-two years, she died. Never before did the death of a monarch arouse such sincere and widespread grief. Passing a reign of nearly sixty-four years, the longest in the history of England or of any other nation, she had watched the transformation of the European world in material, political, and social life. Standing for so long a time in the full light of day, Victoria had won not only the love and devotion of her subjects, the respect and veneration of the outside world for her nobility of life and character, but also the admiration of statesmen for her sanity of judgment and inflexible honorableness of conduct in

politics and diplomacy. As queen and woman, her personal influence, both indirectly by example, and directly by the part she took in affairs of state, is a factor to be reckoned with in all considerations of nineteenth-century progress. Lord Salisbury, in proposing the resolution of condolence and congratulation in the House of Lords on January 25, said: The queen "always maintained and practised a rigid supervision over public affairs, giving to her ministers her frank advice, and warning them of danger if she saw there was danger ahead; and she certainly

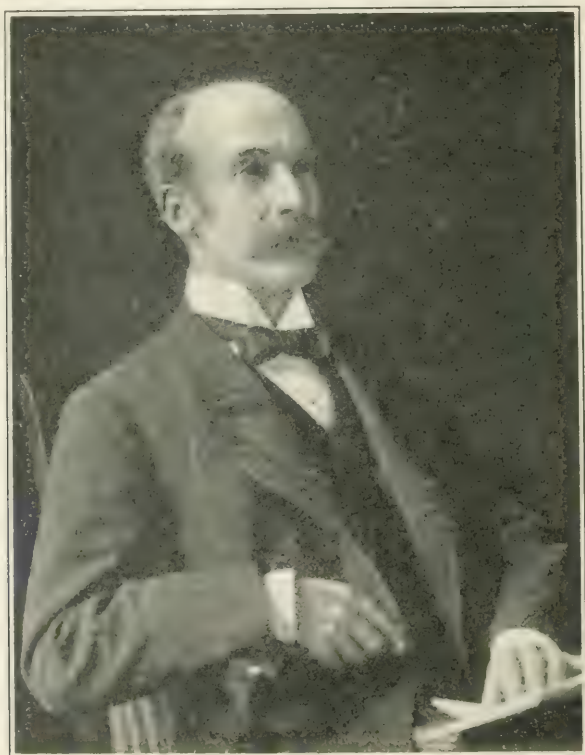


FIG. 105 a.—Lord Lansdowne.

impressed many of us with a profound sense of the penetration, almost intuition, with which she saw the perils with which we might be threatened in any course it was thought expedient to adopt. She left upon my mind, she left upon our minds, the conviction that it was always a dangerous matter to press on her any course, of the expediency of which she was not thoroughly convinced; and I may say with confidence that no minister in her long reign ever disregarded her advice, or pressed her to disregard it, without feeling afterward that he had incurred a

PLATE XII.



Queen Victoria.

From a photograph by Elliott & Fry, London, England.

PLATE XIII.



Edward VII., King of England.

From a photograph by W. and D. Downey, London, England.

dangerous responsibility. We owe her gratitude in every direction—for her influence in elevating the people, for her power with foreign courts and sovereigns to remove difficulties and misapprehensions which sometimes might have been dangerous; but above all things, we owe her gratitude for this, that by a happy dispensation her reign has coincided with that great change which has come over the political structure of the country and the political instincts of its people. She has bridged over that great interval which separates old England from new England. Other nations may have had to pass through similar trials, but have seldom passed through them so peaceably, so easily, and with so much prosperity and success as we have. I think that future historians will look to the queen's reign as the boundary which separates the two states of England, and will recognize that we have undergone the change with constant increase of public prosperity, without any friction to endanger the stability of our civil life, and at the same time with a constant expansion of an empire which every year grows more and more powerful. We owe all these blessings to the tact, the wisdom, the passionate patriotism, and the incomparable judgment of the sovereign whom we deplore." Making full allowance for the circumstances under which these words were spoken, students of English history will recognize their essential truth and will record the fact that the month of January, 1901, marked not only the beginning of a new century, but the close of that great era of transition and progress, the Victorian age.

The Prince of Wales became king under the title of Edward VII. (PLATE XIII.), and on January 23 the Houses of Parliament convened to take the oath of allegiance. The king at the first meeting of the council, held on the same day, took the coronation oath and said: "In undertaking the heavy load which now devolves upon me, I am fully determined to be a constitutional sovereign in the strictest sense of the word, and, as long as there is breath in my body, to work for the good and amelioration of my people. I trust to Parliament and the nation to support me in the arduous duties which now devolve upon me by inheritance, and to which I am determined to devote my whole strength during the remainder of my life." In reply to tributes sent from all parts of the British Empire to the memory of the late queen, the king issued three messages—to "my people," to "my people beyond the seas," and to "the princes and people of India." On August 9, 1902, the public coronation took place.

The opening of Parliament on February 14, 1901, was an unusual and noteworthy event. It not only inaugurated the first working session of the new body, the two short sessions that preceded having been extraordinary in character, but also the first session of the new century

and the first session under the auspices of the new king. In the speech from the throne, the work of Parliament during the ensuing session was outlined. There were to be changes in the constitution of the court of final appeal, rendered necessary by the expansion of the empire, amendment of the law relating to education, the passage of laws regulating the voluntary sale by landlords to occupying tenants in Ireland, the amendment and consolidation of the factory and workshop acts, improvement in the administration of the law respecting lunatics, the amendment of the public health acts in regard to water-supply, the prevention of drunkenness in licensed houses, and the amendment of the law of literary copyright. One of the first matters brought to the attention of Parliament was the form of the coronation oath, in which the king declared against transubstantiation. Thirty Roman Catholic peers had protested on February 14 against "branding with contumelious epithets the religious tenets" of any of the subjects of the king. On February 22 Lord Braye, one of the signers, brought the matter before the House of Lords. Lord Salisbury spoke doubtfully of the possibility of further action, and referred the matter to the House of Commons. Cardinal Vaughan's letter declaring that the Roman Catholic Church could perform no special religious services for the deceased queen, and the Duke of Norfolk's unfortunate address to the pope regarding the temporal power, had not helped the Roman Catholic cause, although there was a widespread feeling that as an act of religious toleration the oath should be modified. On February 24 Cardinal Vaughan addressed a second letter to the Roman Catholics of the United Kingdom, urging them to take such constitutional steps as would lead to Parliamentary action; and although on March 4 the government refused to bring in a bill, it promised on the 11th not to oppose the appointment of a committee to consider the matter. Though the question was discussed both in the House of Lords and House of Commons, it was finally dismissed without action. In the vote on the address, the Chinese indemnity, the peace negotiation with the Boers, the conduct of the war, the reorganization of the army, and the heavy war-expenditure, estimated at £150,000,000, caused heated discussion. The extreme obstructionist tactics of the Irish members in the vote for the civil service and revenue departments led directly to the adoption of stricter rules on Parliamentary discipline. Obstructionists were thenceforth to be suspended for the rest of the session. Other measures considered, and in some instances passed on to a second reading, were the miners' eight-hour bill, a Scottish police-pension bill, a bill prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors to children, and a series of amendments to the factory laws.

Most important of all the matters brought forward for considera-

tion were the army-reorganization scheme, the education bill, and the budget. Brodrick, secretary of state for war, in May presented his plan, which was in reality that of Lord Roberts, proposing to establish the army at 680,000 men, composed of six corps, of which three were designed for foreign service, distributed among six military districts in the kingdom. The project was severely criticised by the opposition on the ground that it marked a new departure in English military annals little short of a revolution, since England had always and should always depend on her navy for defence.

In 1902 a proposal was made to supplement the scheme by forming a reserve militia of yeomanry and volunteers and by the improvement of the medical service. In introducing it, Mr. Brodrick declared that the reorganization plan which he had unfolded the previous year still held the field, and that some of its proposals were being carried out. A year later, however, the Royal Commission on the War startled the country by its report. Although quite conservative in tone it revealed a most criminal state of unpreparedness and mismanagement, as well as the weakness of the entire military system. General indignation was aroused, and the demands, not only for the punishment of the guilty but also for a thorough reform of the military system, became imperative. A War Office Reform Commission, consisting of Lord Esher, General Clarke, and Admiral Fisher, was appointed, which made its report early in 1904. Upon the basis of this report the government adopted a new and extensive army reform measure.

In May, 1901, a government measure for the settlement of the educational problem, which had not been solved by the Board of Education act of 1899, was introduced by Sir John Gorst, but because of unexpected antagonism it was withdrawn. In March of the following year Mr. Balfour himself proposed a more comprehensive measure, designed to bring education—elementary, secondary, and technical—in England and Wales under a single authority in each locality. In the counties this authority was to be the county council, in the county boroughs the borough council. Violent opposition was aroused among the Liberals and Nonconformists because the law taxed ratepayers for the support of denominational schools, two-thirds of whose management was appointed by the Church. But despite the bitterness of the opposition the bill was passed and became a law in December, 1902. In the summer session of the next year the London education act was passed, providing an educational authority for the metropolis, which had not been included in the general act.

The extraordinary expenses of the government because of the Boer war made the work of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1901 very difficult.

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach sought new objects of taxation to provide for the deficit. He made no addition, which he afterward declared would be only temporary, of twopence to the income tax; he increased the import duties on sugar products; imposed a duty of a shilling a ton on all exported English coal; and announced a loan of £60,000,000. The opposition denunciated the government, already embarrassed by the prolongation of the war, for its South African policy, for the intolerance of Chamberlain and the failure of the peace negotiations, for the censorship, for the "regence-trick" system, and in general for the enormous expenses incurred and their effect on England's prosperity. The position of the government was certainly not a strong one and its continuance in power must be attributed in large part to the weakness of its opponents.

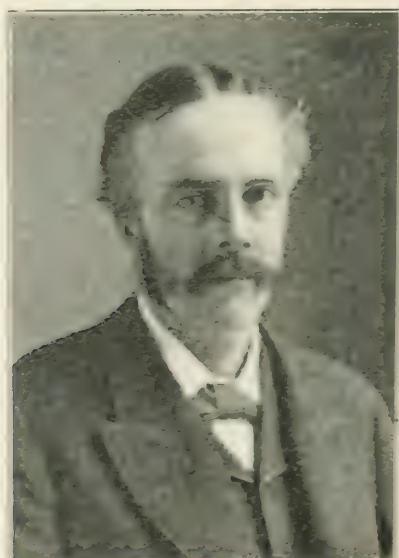


FIG. 106. — A. J. Balfour. (From photograph by Elliott & Fry, London, England.)

In 1902 Lord Salisbury withdrew from public life, and Sir Arthur Balfour (Fig. 106) was at once chosen to succeed him as head of the ministry. On June 2 he announced the terms of peace with the Boers, in which the latter recognized the sovereignty of the King of England, and were awarded in return remarkably generous terms in the way of indemnification for losses and the use of the Dutch language in the schools. Several other diplomatic events of considerable international importance mark the first years of Balfour's premiership, as, for example, the Anglo-Japanese alliance, the happy settlement of all outstanding disputes with France in the Anglo-French treaty of 1904, and the successful expedition led by Colonel Younghusband against Tibet. At home the admin-

istration has been marked, as we have seen, by the Irish Land Act, the educational bill, and the army reorganization measure. Besides other important legislation, among which the licensing bill, which became law in the summer of 1904, excited considerable discussion.

The position of England in the first years of the twentieth century seemed unsettled. Apart from the question of her politics, the great expenses of the war had called renewed attention to the condition and sources of her wealth, and it was freely stated that the tide of prosperity had begun to ebb. The high cost of raw materials, the labor problems, the decrease of English shipping, the successful competition of foreign traders in fields hitherto almost exclusively in British possession, were arousing earnest inquiry and exciting adverse criticism. The competition of Germany and America was most severely felt, and it was believed that until England adopted more resource-saving appliances and more modern machinery, studied with greater attention the needs of the world-markets, and adapted her methods of trade, her weights and measures, to the countries with which she was dealing, recovery would be slow in taking place.

Impressed with the serious nature of these conditions which were gradually undermining England's industrial and commercial supremacy, and anxious to promote the cause of Imperialism, Mr. Chamberlain, in a notable speech on the budget, in June, 1903, proposed a tariff on food-stuffs consumed by Englishmen, with preferential rates in favor of the colonies. A perfect storm of opposition arose from all sides, not the least violent coming from within the government itself. The colonial secretary soon found his position in the cabinet untenable and resigned to enter upon a vigorous campaign to explain and popularize his plan. His resignation from the cabinet was followed by that of five other members early in October because of differences over the new fiscal projects which Mr. Balfour endorsed tentatively. But, notwithstanding the divisions in the ranks of his followers, Mr. Balfour organized a new ministry and easily held his own against the disunited opposition. During 1904 the new fiscal plan continued the paramount question of interest, both in England and the Colonies. Although it soon became evident that the government was in accord with a cause that was unpopular, the eminently successful foreign policy of Lord Lansdowne made the nation loath at this critical time to entrust the direction of affairs to an inexperienced opposition. International questions of the gravest importance were being successfully solved, and the continuance of a positive and Imperialistic policy seemed essential.

Among the lesser states of Europe, none was more violently shaken by the ecclesiastical and socialistic tendencies of the age than Belgium. Since 1870 this had been the only state in Western Europe whose government was, for a majority of years, in the hands of the Catholic party; for, omitting the interval from 1878 to 1884, during which the Liberal Frère-Orban ministry was in office, the clergy were in control. Under the ministry of Malon and afterward of Beernaert (Fig. 107), a moderate Catholic, they took advantage of the opportunity to make Flemish the official language and to bring the schools wholly into their hands. The weakness of the Liberals was due to differences between the two parties, Progressists and Doctrinaires, over the revision of the constitu-



FIG. 107. —Beernaert.

tion and the extension of the electoral law. The discontent aroused by the narrow franchise was increased by the deficit, which in 1884 was estimated at 25,000,000 francs. When in that year the franchise was extended to the rural districts, the clerical vote was increased, for the peasants were mainly conservative. This contrast between city and country was accentuated by that between the Walloons and the Flemings—the former adhering mainly to the Liberal party, the latter to the Clerical. But concurrently with this, the underground working of socialism found expression in repeated acts of violence, notably in 1886, when miners and factory-hands, stirred up by French and German revo-

lutionists, rose in insurrection, destroying property in the neighborhood of Liège and Charleroi. A commission of inquiry was appointed, but accomplished nothing; and in 1887 coal-miners, iron-workers, quarry-men, glass-founders again rose, threatening, burning, and blowing up with dynamite. Troops were poured into the region, and many strikers were killed.

Thus among the Liberals in Belgium after 1886, three parties existed: the Progressists, the Moderates, and the Socialists, the last of whom demanded universal suffrage. The franchise was at the time confined to about 130,000 voters out of a population of 6,000,000, and the elections



FIG. 198. Leopold II., King of Belgium.

were invariably favorable to the Clericals. The agitation of the laboring classes gave strength to the socialistic movement, and, though the workingmen possessed no power to vote, they were able to influence action by continual clamor, by strikes well organized and conducted, and by the issue of definite political programmes. They claimed that the constitution of 1831, a model in its day, was antiquated; and agitation for revision became the leading interest of the ensuing years. Through the influence of the King, Leopold II. (FIG. 198), a strong case was made upon; but the various parties found it impossible to agree to any one of the many plans that were presented. The party in power dreaded

the adoption of universal suffrage and the consequent influx of socialistic legislation; but finally on May 10, 1892, revision was decided upon, and the legislature was dissolved in order that election of members to a constituent assembly might be held. The elections of June 14, which were accompanied with great excitement and rioting in Antwerp, resulted in victories for the Clericals. Thereupon the constituent assembly rejected all proposals to adopt manhood suffrage, with the result that labor and radical agitation increased to such an extent that it seemed as if the whole nation were about to go on a strike. This popular demonstration forced the hand of the assembly; on April 18, 1893, the franchise was thrown open to all adults twenty-five years of age, but at the same time, though no one could have more than three votes, voting on the basis of property and education was retained. By this extension the number of voters was increased from 130,000 to 1,350,000, with about 700,000 plural votes from heads of families, owners of property, and school graduates. The new law in operation, as seen in the elections of 1894, completely overthrew the more moderate Liberals and gave the victory to the Clericals and Socialists; for the Clericals won 104 seats, the Socialists 29, and the Liberals but 19. Once in power, the Clerical party attempted to revise the law on municipal franchise, and to make religious instruction compulsory; and in 1897 the political situation was still further complicated by the attempt of the Flemings, who supported the Clericals, to gain from the government the legal recognition of their language. The Socialists were in reality a non-constitutional party, for they advocated the abolition of the monarchy; but they limited themselves mainly to agitation and obstruction, inasmuch as the majority against them in the Chamber made them powerless as a legislative faction. But after 1898 the lines became more sharply drawn, for the Moderate Liberals went over to the side of the Clericals, while the Progressists gave their support to the Socialists. In 1899 a defection of the Christian Socialists from the Clericals on the issue of proportional representation and manhood suffrage (one man, one vote) as against plural voting gave new strength to the efforts of the Radicals. Only the first of these demands was obtained, in December, 1899; but the Socialists were determined to have the other also. At the Socialistic Congress, held in Liège in March, 1901, the one decision that was unanimously reached was to employ every means, revolutionary and other, to obtain universal suffrage. The following year it was made the principal demand in the labor demonstrations, but a bill to revise the constitution so as to introduce unqualified universal suffrage was defeated.

The elections of 1900, held under the new system of proportional

representation, showed definite gains by the Progressists and Radicals. Two years later the Catholics made slight gains, thus numbering 106, as against 34 each by the Radicals and Socialists, but in 1904 the opposition gained 5 seats, having already made substantial gains in the municipal and communal elections in the previous October. With the Radicals and Socialists in coalition, Belgium became an arena in which the two extreme parties struggled for control. The issues were: the revision of the constitution, substituting universal for plural suffrage; the reorganization of the army and the abolition of the system of substitution; the liberalizing of education, abolishing the compulsory religious teaching required by the law of 1895, over which feeling ran so high that the council and citizens of Brussels, in indignation meetings, resisted the ecclesiastical authorities; the revision of the tariff in which, as in the other countries of western Europe, the representatives of the country districts stood opposed to those of the industrial centers; and the administration of the Congo Free State. With regard to the last, the convention of 1890 expired on January 3, 1901, and two parties had formed, one desiring annexation, the other preferring to continue the convention for another ten years. Popular opinion was against immediate annexation, and Beernaert, who had favored annexation, arranged for its postponement and the continuance of the convention. In the years immediately following, reports of flagrant abuses in the administration of the Congo created much excitement, but the government and the nation generally, with the exception of the Socialists, stood by the king as the administrator of the Congo State. In the discussion of these questions the Catholic majority was far from a unit, but it was always harmonious in opposing every project of the Social-Radical coalition. The scenes in the House became at times tempestuous and exciting; especially in the discussion of the suffrage, and of Belgium's relations with the Vatican, were the lines sharply drawn between Catholic control on one side and socialistic reorganization on the other. Important legislation was enacted in a law to abolish the practice of gambling; a measure to reorganize the army, and in 1903 an act taking the duty off coffee and increasing the excise on alcohol by 50 per cent. Industrially and financially, Belgium was prosperous.

The four chief interests in the Netherlands, which had been and in 1904 were still the subject of debate and party division, were schools, colonies, the army, and the franchise. Parties in the Netherlands were formed more or less on these issues: the Roman Catholics desired compulsory education in their interest; one branch of the Liberals urged

Calvinistic education, the other a strictly non-sectarian education. A law of 1857, which required that every commune should maintain non-sectarian public schools, led to the establishment of large numbers of private schools by both Roman Catholics and Calvinists; but though both of these religious bodies had at times combined to fight the non-sectarian school system, they had not as late as 1904 been able to effect a change in the law.

For a quarter of a century the colonial system, notably in Java and Madura, had been disturbed by a troublesome and costly war which the Dutch had to carry on with the Achinese of Western Sumatra. The war began in 1872, the year after Holland acquired England's rights in the island, and dragged along till 1899, when the Dutch, who had practically given up attempts at conquest in 1886 and contented themselves with holding the coast and a few important outposts in the interior, adopted an aggressive policy for the speedy termination of the war. Early in the year the crafty and influential chief, Tokoe Oemar, was surprised and killed on the west coast, and in 1903 the sultan with some of his most influential chiefs submitted, but the war still continued, and in July, 1904, a Dutch expedition was reported to have killed 1000 natives. The war proved very costly and its prolongation seriously disarranged the finances, consuming the colonial revenues upon which the government had counted to make up the yearly deficit at home.

The demand for an extension of the franchise, which had first made itself heard in 1872, was not granted until 1887, when, after a six years' struggle, the States-General voted for revision of the existing electoral system. This important reform extended the right to vote from 130,000 electors to 290,000, for it granted the privilege to all male citizens who paid 10 guilders taxes on real property or a personal tax on property beyond the amount that was partially exempt. A further extension in 1896 reduced the limit to about one guilder, and included those persons who had lived in hired rooms or apartments for six months, drew pensions from some public institution, had 100 guilders in some savings-bank, or had passed an examination to be a professor, engineer, surgeon, or the like. In short, this constitutional revision practically conceded universal suffrage. Likewise the organization of the army, which retained the old system of enlistment for a term of years with drafting by lot, was for years hotly discussed. Many efforts had been made to introduce the continental system of universal personal and obligatory service, without success, till 1898. Three years later a reorganization scheme was also adopted.

PLATE XIV.



Wilhelmina, Queen of Holland.

History of Art Nations, Vol. XX., page 21.

In 1889 the serious illness of King William III. brought to public attention the question of the royal succession, for his two sons had died before him and without issue. On the king's death in 1890, the succession passed to Wilhelmina (PLATE XIV.), his daughter by his second marriage, who was born in 1880, and who occupied the throne under the tutelage of her mother, Emma of Waldeck. With William the male branch of the house of Orange became extinct; and immediately a separation took place between Holland and Luxemburg, the latter of which, under the Salic law, fell to Duke Adolphus of Nassau. On August 31, 1898, Wilhelmina reached her majority, and on September 6, amid demonstrations of joy and affection on the part of her subjects, she was crowned Queen of Holland. In 1901 she was married at The Hague to Duke Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and the celebration was made an occasion for elaborate festivities. In the same year the Liberals, because of internal dissensions over the question of suffrage, after having held office for nearly fifty years, were defeated at the polls by a coalition of all the anti-liberal interests, and were succeeded by a Clerical government. The new government was not favorably disposed toward the Socialists, and in 1903 it passed the anti-strike bill, notwithstanding the extreme measures of the labor unions in ordering a general strike. It also took great interest in the colossal project to drain and redeem the land of the Zuyder Zee, and in 1904 introduced a new tariff along protectionist lines. In August of this year the Parliamentary elections again resulted in the triumph of the Conservatives. Because of the different economic conditions prevailing in Holland, the Socialist element is not as strong as in Belgium, and there is less opposition displayed to monarchical institutions. Still socialism even in Holland is a distinct force, its platform as announced at the socialistic congress at The Hague demanding universal suffrage, proportional representation, old-age pensions, state control of monopolies, an eight-hour day, and a minimum labor wage. Of the two countries, Holland is, on the whole, the more conservative.

The history of Denmark during the last three decades of the nineteenth century was marked by an unbroken conflict between the government and the majority in Parliament (*Folkething*). With the appointment of the Estrup ministry in 1875 the struggle began in earnest; for the government, possessing a majority in the upper House or Landthing, was unable to find support in the lower House, and for nineteen years a legislative deadlock ensued. The Conservatives, remembering the old struggle with Prussia, desired to develop to the fullest possible

extent the nation's military strength, while the Liberals in the Folkething opposed the scheme as extravagant. Repeatedly the latter body refused to vote the budget, and as repeatedly did King Christian IX. (Fig. 109) dissolve the Chamber. Yet each time did the country send up a Liberal majority, and the government was forced to promulgate provisional budgets in order to continue the administration. Finally in 1884 the Liberal majority in the Folkething took issue with the ministry in their determination to force the king to recognize the principle of responsible government and to appoint a ministry that should be in harmony with the majority of the elected representatives of the people.



FIG. 109.—King Christian IX. of Denmark.

The king refused on the ground that this was not demanded by the constitution, that the Liberals were so divided as to make it dangerous to place government in the hands of the Folkething, and that the growth of Radical feeling, as exhibited in the attempt to assassinate his Majesty, October 21, 1885, rendered repressive acts necessary. Consequently, taking advantage of a clause in the constitution which empowered the government to decree provisional laws in cases of urgency, the king continued his government without the aid of the Folkething. The budget was authorized by royal decree, and in 1885 repressive laws were passed by the Landthing, limiting the liberty of the press

and the right of association. Attempts at compromise were made in 1888, but the Liberal party was so divided into factions that it could not agree on a policy, and the government by decree continued. But the increase in the number of the Moderates in the Folkething, the death of the leader of the obstructionists, Berg (Fig. 110), in 1891, and the defeat in the elections of 1892 of many of the Radicals gave at last a constitutional form to the government; for the Moderates voted with the king and his ministers and sanctioned the budget (1894) and passed the military law. Then Estrup (Fig. 111), who had carried on the nine years' struggle, and, despite the opposition of the Folkething, had improved the condition of the people and the country, resigned, and Baron Reedtz-Thott, of the Moderate Conservatives, assumed office with a promise of agrarian and social reforms. But the elections of 1895 resulted in a considerable increase in the membership of the Radicals, and seemed to indicate a protest against the compromise of 1894; and in 1897 the conflict between the Folkething and the ministry over the finances was renewed. A recurrence of the old situation was avoided by the resignation of the ministry. The elections of 1898 resulted in another victory for the Radicals, of such consequence that it looked as if that party would cut loose from the Socialists, present a moderate programme, and adopt an attitude of conciliation. This promise seemed to be fulfilled in 1899, when a reorganization of the ministry took place, of such a kind as to make possible an understanding between the ministry and the Landthing on one side and the Folkething on the other. Reedtz-Thott withdrew, and the king summoned Hørring to form a new cabinet. The new leader was no more successful than the old, for although he succeeded in presenting an acceptable budget—from which, however, all objectionable features had been removed—he was compelled to resign in March, 1900. The new minister, Schested, a Conservative, though also trying a policy of reconciliation, found himself in November, with a majority against him in both Houses, blocked by the question of tax reform. Despite the overwhelming majority against him, the minister



FIG. 110.—Ch. Berg.

remained in power, having the support of the king and the crown prince. A budget committee, appointed in December, 1900, sought to find a way out of the difficulty, but without success. The elections held in June, 1901, solely upon the issue of the reform of taxation and under the secret ballot law adopted during the winter, proved to be a crushing defeat for the Ministerialists, and the king at last consented to appoint a cabinet from the Liberals, thereby recognizing the responsibility of the ministry to the majority in the Lower House. He summoned Deuntzer, and for the first time in thirty years accepted a thoroughly Liberal cabinet. This event inaugurated a new era in Danish politics, ended the long struggle between Parliament and the crown, and made it possible



FIG. 111.—Estrup.

for the government to concentrate its chief attention upon what had been of first importance in Denmark for half a century—the agricultural and farming interests. Agrarian legislation had always had first place, but had been impeded by the political struggle. Successful efforts had, however, been made to increase the area of cultivable land, and Denmark had become the home of intelligent stock and mixed farming, of much higher grade than ordinary agriculture. It had become, furthermore, the greatest butter-making country in the world. The co-operative principle was in full application among its farmers, and the standard of

intelligence among the workmen in the cities—and indeed among the people at large—was unusually high. Agrarian interests were dominant. In the elections of 1903 the Agrarian-Left received a large majority. It reformed the system of taxes greatly in favor of the agricultural interests, and provided for a single property tax in place of the land tax, for a tax on capital and an income tax. A special resident minister was granted to Iceland, and in 1904 an important law was passed for the reform of the financial and judicial service.

By the royal concession of 1884 the Liberal party in the Storting in Norway gained a noteworthy victory, and a Parliamentary regime seemed to be established. But at first the hopes of the reformers were not wholly realized. With the increase in numbers of the Radical party in the Storting, led by Bjørnsterne Björnson, Sverdrup and the Moderate Left found themselves inclined to side with the Conservatives and to separate from their former allies. A fierce encounter took place; and though beaten in the Chamber, Sverdrup refused to recognize the Parliamentary principle that he himself had invoked. In the new elections of 1888, which were fought out on this issue, the Moderates were so far reduced in numbers as to be entirely dependent on the Conservatives for their majority. But this unnatural union could not last, and finally in 1889 Sverdrup was compelled to resign. A "fighting" rather than a conciliatory ministry was formed from the Moderate wing of the Conservative party, an act that forced the Moderate and Radical parties of the Left to unite in a common opposition to the ministry and the king. This united Left succeeded in 1891 in passing a resolution demanding greater independence for Norway in diplomatic relations. Immediately the Conservative ministry resigned, and the king summoned Steen, the leader of the Radicals, who took office on condition that the elections of 1891 showed that the country approved of the Radical proposals. The elections resulted in the return of 65 Radicals, 36 Conservatives, and 13 Moderates, returns which meant that the question of a separate consular service for Norway was to become the critical issue of the hour. The Norwegian Left was supported by the Radicals in the Swedish diet, but the majority in the diet supported the king. The struggle, which thus became acute in 1892, took the form of a national struggle between the Swedes and Norwegians, the latter of whom, numbering altogether but 2,000,000 souls, and possessing a territory of only 122,000 square miles, an army of but 18,000 men, a navy of less than 150 small vessels, and a revenue of \$18,000,000, were aiming at eventual complete separation.

On February 8, 1892, the Storting took the initial step whereby the establishment of a separate Norwegian consular service was to be effected, by declaring that such service was to be created by Norway alone and was not a matter with which Sweden had anything to do. The king, on the other hand, took the ground that, as all foreign and diplomatic matters were common to the two governments, they were to be dealt with by him as their common king. When this declaration was made in March, 1892, the Steen ministry resigned, and the king found it difficult to form a new cabinet. Having tried Stang, of the Conservatives, without success, he then arranged a compromise whereby the consulate ques-

tion was deferred and the Steen ministry retained. The situation was considerably complicated by the further demand of the Norwegian Radicals for a separate Norwegian minister of foreign affairs, a demand acceptable neither to the Swedish diet nor the king; but the latter, supported by a resolution passed by the diet in April, 1893, to uphold him, persisted in his refusal to grant the Radical Norwegian demands. Then the Steen ministry resigned, and the Stang ministry took its place. The Storthing immediately voted a want of confidence, and a little later passed resolutions which left no doubt as to the Radical position. They sanctioned the use in commercial service of the plain Norwegian flag without the emblem of the union with Sweden; they refused to grant supplies for the consular service, making only provisional estimates for the joint service to January 1, 1895, declaring that after that date estimates were to be shaped for a separate Norwegian service; and they likewise withheld the salaries of the ministers.

Thus the matter of the flag became a rallying-cry in the struggle. In 1896 the Storthing passed another resolution demanding the recognition of a separate flag for Norway, a demand which for the second time the king refused to sanction. But then in 1898, when the Storthing again repeated the demand, and the king again opposed it, the resolution became law, as it had been passed three times by the Storthing. In the elections of 1894 the Left retained its majority, although that was reduced by five votes; and inasmuch as the chief planks of the platform had been a separate consular service, a Norwegian foreign minister, universal suffrage, and legislation for the workingman, the path of the Storthing was well marked out. In February, 1895, the Stang ministry resigned, and at first the king tried to enter into a compromise whereby the consular question might be submitted to a joint council of state. But as this proposal, which was but a repetition of that which the king had made in 1892, was not acceptable to the Storthing, King Oscar called on the ministers to withdraw their resignations. This they did, but during the year 1895 the situation looked serious and critical; for the Storthing was defiant, the Stang ministry helpless, and the king was talking of abdicating, as he feared an armed conflict. But the crisis was averted by the Norwegians consenting to the formation of a coalition ministry and to the appointment of a joint commission made up of five Swedish Moderates and two Conservatives and four Norwegian Moderates and three Radicals, to solve the difficulty. This commission reporting in March, 1898, showed that no agreement on any plan was possible; for each party to the commission presented two reports, one from the majority and one from the minority. With the dissolution of this commission,

the position was the same as before: the Swedes insisting on a single foreign department and a common consular system; the Norwegians demanding separate minister and service. In consequence of this report the coalition ministry of Hagerup resigned and Steen was again summoned to form a cabinet.

The many successes of the Radicals in Norway had undoubtedly quickened the separatist movement, and no wonder; for they had won a flag of their own in 1898, and were already considering separate commercial treaties to be entered into without regard to Sweden; they had in 1898 appropriated 20,000,000 kroner for the increase of the national armament and were apparently making ready for defence. In 1899



FIG. 112.—Crown Prince of Norway and Sweden.

apprehensions for the future were felt, for the crown prince (Fig. 112) was not popular in Norway. When in January, 1899, during the sickness of his father, he was entrusted with the regency, and as regent visited Christiania, he was received without demonstration. The king recovered, but in October, 1900, was obliged again to hand over the government to his son. He resumed the reins of government in January, 1901. During these years the tension between the two states was reduced somewhat. In 1902 a joint commission reported in favor of the separation of the consular service of the two countries, and in December, 1903, the plan was formally accepted by the king. The elections of this year in Norway showed clearly the growing strength of the conservative

and more moderate element. In 1901 the government adopted a measure extending the municipal franchise to women taxpayers, but in 1904 the Storting unanimously rejected the extension of the plan to include Parliamentary suffrage also. In 1901 the Swedish Riksdag ended the seemingly interminable struggle over the army question by a complete reorganization of the military system. A special appropriation was made, and in 1902 a progressive income tax was adopted in order to meet the cost of the changes in the army. In 1904 the principal issues in Sweden arose from the demand for the extension of the suffrage and the relations with Norway.

In democratic Switzerland, as in monarchical Belgium, Denmark, and Sweden, the main problems were religious and constitutional. In order to strengthen the power of the confederation and to check the influence of the Ultramontanes, an attempt had been made in 1872 to revise the constitution in the interest of the central government and at the expense of cantonal sovereignty. The revision proposed in 1871 and 1872, though passing the diet, was rejected by the people in May, 1872, by a majority of between 5000 and 6000 and by 13 cantons to 9. But this narrow majority encouraged the friends of revision to renew the conflict in 1874 and to offer a new amendment, made more acceptable by the omission of some of the more obnoxious clauses. This was adopted by a majority of 150,000 and by $14\frac{1}{2}$ cantons to $7\frac{1}{2}$. By this amendment the most important of the military powers were placed in the hands of the confederation; the supreme federal tribunal, established in 1848, was located permanently at Lausanne; the erection of bishoprics was made dependent on the sanction of the confederation; the institution of cloisters was forbidden; civil marriage was introduced, and provision was made whereby primary education, though remaining under the control of the cantons, should be compulsory and gratuitous throughout the confederation.

But the most far-reaching act of all was the introduction of the federal referendum. "Federal laws shall be submitted for acceptance or rejection by the people, if the demand be made by 30,000 voters or by 8 cantons." Such was the famous provision, which was to show itself in some instances an impediment to rapid progress, but which has made Switzerland the most democratic country in the world. Doubtless the masses were to be influenced frequently by Particularists and Ultramontanes, and through these agencies the school law, the laws governing epidemics and compulsory vaccination, the appointment of a national secretary of education, and a secretary in the federal department of justice and police, were one after another rejected. But considering the

results as they appeared in 1901, the advantages of the system clearly outweighed the disadvantages. Of the 209 federal laws, which under this provision might have been voted on, but were passed by the Chamber, only 26 were submitted to the people at the demand of 30,000 voters; and of these 26, 17 were rejected and 9 accepted. In addition, under the amendment provision of the constitution, which required that all amendments be submitted to popular vote, 13 changes were voted on, 5 of which were rejected and 8 accepted. Taking all the measures together which have received the stamp of popular approval or disapproval from 1874 to 1899, of the 43 presented, 25 were rejected. Inasmuch as the majority in the federal diet was largely composed of Germans, Centralists, and Free-thinkers, it is evident that the opposition came from those cantons controlled by voters of the opposite religious and political faith—French, Ultramontanes, and Particularists. Such opposition was undoubtedly useful in checking an unduly rapid growth of an anti-religious radicalism.

But while there were so many noteworthy rejections, there were also some remarkable acceptances, particularly in the matter of the revision of the constitution. Of the amendments accepted some are of much importance. In 1879 the people restored to the cantons the right to inflict capital punishment; in 1885 they invested the federal government with the monopoly of the manufacture and sale of distilled spirits; in 1887 they bestowed upon the government the right to legislate on the protection of patents and inventions; in 1891 they created the initiative amendment and gave the confederation a monopoly of bank-notes; in 1897 they gave the confederation power to legislate on foodstuffs; in the same year placed all forests under federal management; and again, in 1898, they extended to the federal legislature competence over the entire field of civil and criminal law. It is interesting to note that many of these amendments were almost identical with the changes proposed in 1872 that led to the rejection of the revised constitution of that year. Of all these amendments the most striking was that of 1891, known as the initiative amendment, whereby 50,000 Swiss voters were empowered to present in completed form one or more constitutional articles, which, if sanctioned by the people, were to be incorporated into the fundamental law of the state. Once only was such modification to be effected, when in 1893 the Anti-Semites succeeded in getting a favorable popular vote forbidding the slaughter of animals in accordance with the Jewish rite. Twice, however, was the initiative to be used unfavorably: once in 1894, when a measure originating with the Socialists demanded that work, adequately paid for, be provided by the state; and again the same year,

when popular approval was sought for a kind of "spoils" measure touching a disposal of the surplus from customs, both of which instances were to lead to considerable speculation as to the wisdom of this particular privilege of initiative and direct legislation. It was even feared that this constitutional provision might hasten the formation of rings, clubs, and party machines, and bring about a state of organized and professional politics. This fear was partly dispelled in November, 1900, when the Swiss nation rejected two proposals, which under the name of the "double initiative" had aroused much excitement in the confederation. The first proposed the election of members of the National Council on the system of proportional representation, the second the election of the Federal Council by the people. In 1903 an amendment to apportion the representation in the Federal Council according to the Swiss and not according to the total population was rejected by the people. With it two other measures met defeat, the one providing for an increase in the excise on rum, the other adding a new offense to the criminal code by making it unlawful for newspapers to stir up sedition in the army. On the other hand, the people adopted by a large majority the new customs tariff which is distinctly protectionist in character. The elections of 1902 resulted in the success of the government, the Radicals securing 97 seats as against a total of all parties in opposition of 70, the dissatisfaction arising from the depressed industrial conditions apparently not affecting the result in favor of the Socialists. The policy of buying up the railways was continued; in 1902 an agreement was reached whereby the Confederation took over the Jura-Simplon undertaking. A considerable loan was made for the improvement of the army and the purchase of rapid-firing artillery.

During the last two decades the Confederation pursued energetic steps against foreign Anarchists who were abusing the right of asylum by plotting their reckless schemes in Switzerland. During 1885 nearly thirty Anarchists were expelled from the country, and in 1888 four editors of the *Social Demokrat* were compelled to leave. During the following year the Confederation got into a violent controversy with Germany over the question of harboring Anarchists; and though the latter was both overbearing and excessive in her demands, Switzerland finally yielded. In 1890 more Anarchists were expelled, and in 1893 and 1894, in order to repress anarchistic outrages, drastic measures were adopted, and laws were passed giving the federal government power to expel both foreign and native Anarchists and to impose heavy penalties for the illicit fabrication or concealment of explosives, as well as for inciting or defending anarchistic outrages in the press or otherwise. These

measures proved successful, and no further complaints of consequence were heard of Switzerland as a refuge for plotters, the Italian diplomatic difficulty with Italy in 1902 over the attack in the *Breco* upon the murdered King Humbert not being of this character.

During these years the neutrality which had attracted Anarchists had also attracted to her cities organizations and associations the object of whose conferences was entirely peaceful. In 1885, 1886, and 1896, meetings were held at Bern in the interest of the protection of literary property; in 1888 and 1892, at Lausanne, the Institute of International Law held meetings; in 1891, at Bern, was held the International Congress on Accidents to Workmen; in 1892, at Bern, the Peace Congress and the Inter-Parliamentary Congress; in 1893, at Zürich, the International Congress of Social Democrats, and at the same time a congress was held of Anarchists who had been excluded from the gathering of the Socialists; in 1895 a National Exhibition illustrating all branches of Swiss trade and industry was opened at Geneva; while in 1897 the International Congress for the Protection of Labor was held at Zürich, and in 1904 an International Cotton Congress at the same place.

One of the greatest triumphs of peaceful engineering was accomplished by the tunnelling of the St. Gothard from Göschenen to Airolo. As a direct line between Germany and Italy, this was of high mercantile and political import to both countries. Italy consequently pledged herself to furnish a like subsidy with Switzerland of 20,000,000 francs, while Germany contributed 45,000,000. As the cost largely exceeded the estimate, each country contributed 10,000,000 additional. On May 24, 1882, the St. Gothard line was opened with imposing ceremonies. In 1885 arrangements were made for tunnelling the Simplon. The tunnel was to be 12½ miles in length and the estimated cost was 70,000,000 francs, which was to be divided between the federal government and the cantons of Western Switzerland. Actual work on the tunnel was begun in 1898, and in July, 1905, it was to be formally opened.

The position of Switzerland was in many respects unique in Europe. Though in few countries were the differences of tradition, race, and opinion more marked, yet in few countries were the love and patriotism of the people more strikingly exhibited. In race, the people were of French, German, and Italian stock; in environment, some were of the mountain, others of the plain; in religious opinion, some were Ultramontanes, some were Protestants, others Free-thinkers; in constitutional views, some were particularists, others centralists; in political views, some were excessively conservative, others as strongly liberal, while a growing social democracy was exercising an increasingly important influence. Historically, Switzerland had been a land of internal conflict

from the time of Zwingli to the war of the Sonderbund. Yet with all these differences Switzerland was a powerful and united federal state, her people joined in the bonds of loyalty to the traditions of the past and devotion to the common country which through so many centuries had gained and preserved its independence. The neutrality guaranteed by the treaty of Vienna made it a country of international importance and necessity, the seat of international associations and tribunals; and not only aided the Swiss people to develop their own resources and work out their own political experiments in security and peace, but made the land itself, thus placed under the special protection of the European powers, an indispensable centre of international activity, devoted to the interests not of one state or a group of states, but of the whole world.

After the death of King Alfonso in Spain in 1885, the executive power fell into the hands of Queen Marie Christina, who instructed Sagasta (Fig. 113) to form a cabinet. Under these new circumstances



FIG. 113.—Sagasta.

the latter started out with excellent intentions and presented an elaborate and liberal programme. He promised to remodel the constitution by introducing, as in the days of 1869 and 1870, liberty of the press, trial by jury, civil marriage, and universal suffrage, the abolition of which in 1875 had roused a bitter feeling against the monarchy. But good as were his intentions, he was exceedingly slow in fulfilling his promises

and it was not until 1887 that trial by jury was adopted. However, once begun, the work moved rapidly on, and a law of associations (June 30, 1887), a civil and penal code, and civil marriage were added to the credit of the Liberal party; and though in 1889 the disordered state of the finances, fears of riots and insurrections, repressive legislation, and conflicts with Radicals and Socialists obscured legislative and



FIG. 114.—Queen regent, Marie Christina, with the young King of Spain in 1891.

economic progress, nevertheless the progress was definite and the Spanish people were becoming, very slowly indeed, accustomed to civil government. Finally on January 24, 1890, after playing with the parties for four years and once reconstructing his cabinet, Sagasta completed his work by pushing through a law granting universal suffrage, and then resigned. The Cortes, having completed its constitutional term, was

dissolved : and though the elections held by the Conservatives under the new law resulted in the usual ministerial majority, they exhibited an unusual amount of republican strength, which would probably have been much greater had there not been official interference and local bribery. The queen regent (Fig. 114) opened the new Cortes in March, 1891, with the promise that the reform work so well begun should be extended to religion, justice, the tariff, the army, navy, and the finances. The first step to fulfil this promise was taken in 1892, when a new protective tariff was adopted similar to that of France, whereby maximum and minimum schedules were arranged.

But the most serious of Spain's difficulties, the financial deficit, continued to haunt the ministry, and a crisis which Canovas had hoped to avert by reorganizing his ministry in 1892 was precipitated the same year by the discovery of grave corruption on the part of the municipal authorities of Madrid. The ministry resigned in December, and the following year, 1893, a general election was held which returned 322 Liberals out of a total of 430 members, so easy was it for any minister in power to obtain support. Sagasta's position was not an enviable one : the Republicans, who had won 39 seats, formed an obstinate body of obstructionists, projects of financial reform and increased taxation aroused discontent, and efforts to enforce the law led to resistance and local uprisings. Though the queen regent gave up 1,000,000 pesetas of the civil list, retrenchment was equally unpleasant, and Admiral Cervera resigned from the ministry because the naval appropriation was cut down. An attempt to curtail the privileges (*fueros*) of the Basques led to an outbreak at San Sebastian and an attack on Sagasta himself ; anarchistic outrages at Barcelona were followed by reprisals, executions, and special legislation. Yet, on the whole, the strength of the Liberal party increased rather than diminished. A settlement was made with the Basques ; Castelar, the leader of the Moderate Republicans or Possibilists, came over to the side of the monarchy ; and two ministerial reorganizations safely tided over critical periods in the Cortes. It was not until March, 1895, that a quarrel between army officers and certain newspaper editors in Madrid led to a split in the cabinet and to such serious rioting in the city that the ministry resigned. Canovas then returned to power.

Thus far financial embarrassment, party opposition, anarchistic and socialistic uprisings had been the chief obstacles to Spanish progress ; but, beginning with 1895, the colonies became the cause of trouble and disaster. Since 1887, when Spain had received the Caroline Islands by award of the pope, colonial difficulties had increased. Insurrections

had taken place in the Philippine, Sulu, and Caroline Islands in 1887 and 1891, and the methods employed to suppress them had been brutal in the extreme. In 1893 Spain, having become involved in a military expedition to Morocco to maintain her pretensions to political supremacy there, first sent 24,000 soldiers, and finally dispatched General Campos to effect a settlement. In 1895 the Cuban revolt, which had never been fairly quelled, broke out in more serious form than before, and Campos was sent to command the 80,000 men already in the island. Canovas at once called for fresh credits and an increase of the military force, but the movement had gone too far for the application of a peaceful and temporizing policy. Campos was recalled and Weyler sent out, reaching Havana on February 10, 1896. At once a characteristically Spanish policy was employed: it was decided by the government that the rebellion should be crushed, stamped out, and that no more peace measures, compromises, or promises of autonomy should be made. The brutality of Weyler maddened the Cuban patriots and made them desperate; his inhumanity horrified the civilized world and tried severely the patience of the United States. And Spain gained nothing by her policy, though she had sent to Cuba 130,000 of her men and had spent already \$50,000,000. A change was certainly needed; but it came sooner than had been expected. In August, 1897, Canovas was shot down by an assassin, and with him fell the Conservative method of conquering Cuba. Sagasta, having resumed control, began to consider a plan of conciliation and autonomous government for Cuba; but the Cubans remembered the fate of the compromise of 1878 and rejected all advances. Moreover, the United States, which had already twice warned Spain (in the messages of Cleveland and McKinley) that matters would not be allowed to go much further, was on the eve of declaring in favor of intervention, when the disaster to the battle-ship *Maine* in the harbor of Havana in February, 1898, precipitated the conflict; and in April, war broke out between Spain and the United States. On May 1, Admiral Dewey defeated a Spanish fleet in Manila Bay; in Cuba the struggle continued for two months longer, at the end of which time the land operations about Santiago and the destruction of Cervera's fleet in the waters outside brought the war to an end. Spanish pride and patriotism responded to every call; a national subscription met the demand for money; civilians made sacrifices, and soldiers devoted faithful lives in the effort to atone by heroism for the frightfully bad condition of all the instruments of war; but in vain. The Cortes summoned in September, 1898, ratified the terms of peace, and in so doing signed away the greater part of Spain's colonial

empire. Sovereignty over Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam of the Ladrões, passed to the United States, and Spain's territory was limited practically to the Iberian peninsula.

Through this time of danger the Sagasta ministry had guided the Spanish state; and though under it Spain was fast losing prestige, yet the elections of 1898 had returned a large Liberal majority. Bread riots in Salamanca, great suffering owing to scarcity of food, Weyler's onslaught on the government and his revolutionary propaganda in conjunction with the Carlists, had been met with firmness; but in the middle of the year, so disturbed had become the condition of the country that the constitutional guarantees had to be suspended and a state of siege established throughout Spain. In May, 1898, Sagasta had reconstructed his ministry, and during the ensuing months, while the war was in progress, had faced a turbulent Cortes. Republican and Conservative members had charged the government with cowardice, corruption, and incompetence, and with compromising the honor of the army and humiliating the nation. The minister of public works resigned in October and seceded from the Liberal party, with sufficient followers to destroy the majority. But Sagasta held on in order to carry through the treaty negotiations. With the year 1899, however, and the signing of the treaty, the ministry found itself confronted by an opposition ready to charge to the existing régime all responsibility for the national disasters. A new attempt by the Carlists—which proved, however, a wretched fiasco—the sight of the soldiers returning from Cuba, sick and emaciated, roused anew the anger of the people; and Sagasta, taking advantage of a practical defeat in the Senate, resigned March, 1899.

Instead of allowing a reorganization and an appeal to the country by Liberal leaders, the queen regent decided to entrust the government to the Conservatives, and summoned Silvela, the successor of Canovas, to form a cabinet. Silvela organized a ministry of a reactionary character, but none the less received such ample support in the elections of April as to make secure his hold upon the Senate and the Chamber. When the Cortes met in June, the government declared its determination first to square the finances, then to reorganize the army and the navy on the basis of compulsory service, to complete the coast defence and to reform provinces, municipalities, and the electoral and penal law. Already had Spain divested herself of the last of her colonial possessions; for in January she had abolished the ministry of the colonies, and later sold her remaining islands—the Caroline, Pellew, and Ladrone Islands except Guam—to Germany for \$4,000,000, retaining only the privileges of a

coaling-station. This money and that received from the United States, \$20,000,000, was employed to straighten out the financial tangle. As to the army, the government was prepared to abolish the military marshals and to reduce the number of officers and soldiers, but attempts to retrench in this way met with some resistance. In December, 1899, the Chamber by a majority of only one rejected the motion to abolish the office of under-secretary of the navy and the post of private secretary to the minister of marine and other positions in the navy department.

In 1900 questions of taxation were arousing debate, and an old controversy, that of decentralization versus centralization, had reappeared. In December, 1899, the chambers of commerce in certain provinces had renewed their petition for the restoration of local rights of taxation and collection; but this return to the privileges of the *fueros* was refused. Silvela had twice reconstructed his ministry, and in 1900 was facing not only the question of finance and administration, but also riots in Barcelona, Valencia, and Seville, serious enough in the first two provinces to demand martial law. In Madrid, where rioting began in June, it was even necessary to declare a state of siege and to suspend the constitutional guarantees.

It was evident that the Silvela ministry possessed neither resources nor unity. The appointment of Weyler as captain-general to put down the rioting in Madrid and the consequent resignation of two of the ministers led in October to the retirement of the entire cabinet. The new ministry formed by Azarraga, being called upon during the next month to suppress a Carlist uprising near Barcelona, succeeded in arresting the rioters, in suppressing Carlist newspapers, and in closing Carlist and Catholic clubs. It accomplished nothing of importance, however, either to lighten taxation or to improve the social condition of the country, and was unable to hold its own for more than three months. In February events occurred which threw the whole country into fierce excitement. For some time it had been known that the eldest sister of King Alfonso, the Princess of the Asturias, was to marry Prince Charles of Bourbon, son of the Count of Caserta, of the old Neapolitan Bourbon line. Inasmuch as the count was a rigid Carlist, an ally of Don Carlos, it was hardly surprising that opposition should be aroused to a marriage that in the event of the boy-king's death might place a Carlist on the throne of Spain. Already in the Chamber of Deputies there had been protests, and a demand had been made that the marriage be postponed until the king should come of age. It was feared, too, that since Prince Charles was a pretender to the throne of Naples, the marriage might

endanger the friendly relations with Italy and thus prove injurious to the best interests of the state.

The Azcarraga ministry, however, refused to intervene, and on February 14, 1901, the marriage was duly celebrated. The city, guarded by cavalry, remained quiet during the day, but in the evening disorders began and a hundred arrests were made. The prefect, the civil head, having resigned his authority, General Weyler became dictator of the city, proclaimed a state of siege, and established a military censorship. A series of anti-Jesuit riots in Valencia, Barcelona, Alicante, and other cities increased the difficulty of the situation. The Jesuits had attempted to persuade a certain Señorita Ubao to enter a convent without the consent of her family; and although the High Court of Spain restored the girl to her mother, the feeling against the monks, increased by the general anti-clerical movement which in France had been already expressed in the law of associations, and in Portugal was to lead a little later to the expulsion of the Jesuits, was not easily dispelled. In consequence of these incidents the Azcarraga cabinet resigned. To find a Conservative minister proved a difficult task. The members of the party declared that they would serve only under Silvela, their natural leader, and Silvela refused to take office. Villaverde, who at last attempted to gather a ministry of Conservative concentration, failed. Then the queen regent, turning to the Liberals, sent for Sagasta; and on March 6, 1901, a Liberal cabinet of a very democratic character was formed. With the exception of Weyler, minister of war, the members were taken from the young democracy. Immediately the state of siege was raised in Madrid and the constitutional guarantees restored. The Cortes was dissolved and new elections were set for the 12th of May. From the elections of the general councils in the middle of March, in which the Liberals gained 232 seats, and the Conservatives 191, with about 100 scattering, some indication of the results of the general election could be gained.

But the change of ministry did not check the agitation. Strikes in Catalonia, near Barcelona, tumultuous scenes at Manlleu and Ripoll necessitated the despatch of state troops. The anti-clerical demonstrations continued and drew from the new ministry statements of its policy toward religious congregations. It would, it declared, compel all orders engaged in manufacturing to pay taxes, and would guard carefully against any action on the part of the orders that should be contrary to the interests of the state. It sanctioned a circular issued by the minister of public instruction, by which liberty of instruction was re-established, the obligatory character of religious education suppressed, and the teach-

ing by Jesuits in public schools forbidden. The procurator-general of the High Court ordered, besides, the rigid execution of the law of associations of the year 1887. It was evident that the government was determined to take all necessary measures to appease religious discontent. It had hoped also to reach a compromise with the Archbishop of Toledo, the head of the Spanish church. But the reconciliation proved difficult; the pastoral letters of many of the bishops displayed great bitterness of spirit toward the Anti-Clericals, while the Anti-Clericals, on their side, especially those meeting in convention at Malaga in April, were demanding the expulsion of all the religious orders from Spain and were sending letters of congratulation to the chambers in France and Portugal. Cries of "Down with the Jesuits," "Long live Spain without convents," were frequently heard in the streets of Barcelona, Valencia, Valladolid, and other Spanish cities. In Valladolid flags were borne bearing the inscription, "Jesuitism, the enemy of liberty, must be destroyed; the religious congregations must be expelled; we wish lay schools. Reform and science! that is liberty; Jesuitism! that is slavery." A veritable war was aroused by the production of "Electra," a new drama of a distinctly anti-sacerdotal character, the work of Galdos, a leading Spanish writer. Manifestations of this character the government sought to check, while it allowed peaceful anti-clerical meetings to continue. At the end of April, there was in Madrid a violently hostile gathering, at which extreme socialistic views were presented. Through May, June, and July the movement, which after the marriage of the Princess of the Asturias had passed from words to deeds, took the form of anti-clerical manifestations on the occasion of the Jubilee processions in the various cities. At Saragossa on July 17 and 18 a conflict occurred which resulted in the wounding of 46 persons, 12 seriously. After the opening of the Cortes on June 11, the matter was brought into the Chamber and bitter speeches were made on both sides, the free-thinkers characterizing the conflict as a struggle between the spirit of the times and clericalism; the conservatives as a war against religion and the church. The government proposed not only to apply the law of associations of 1887, but to reach an accord with the Vatican that the concordat might be modified and a new law of associations be prepared.

The elections, which had been held on May 19, resulted in the return of a large Liberal majority and the defeat of the Socialists and the advocates of decentralization or regionalism. But they were also significant in that they disclosed the presence of many party groups, made up of the followers of individual leaders, which seemed to portend a government by groups, as in Italy, rather than by parties as in other countries.

The Senatorial elections of June 4 completed the Liberal victory. But the Sagasta ministry was confronted by other problems than the religious. The resignation of the Marquis de La Vega, president of the Chamber, and the election of Moret, minister of the interior, seemed to show that the Liberal majority was not united, while in the country the conditions were still more disquieting. During the summer the question of regionalism assumed large proportions, notably in Catalonia. The government had raised the state of siege in that province on May 13 and had restored the constitutional guarantees, hoping to obtain tranquillity by according to all the provinces a certain amount of administrative authority. But the decentralizing campaign continued under the leadership of the deputies from Catalonia, four of whom had been declared illegally elected by the Chamber, and of Pi y Margall, chief of the regionalists, who attacked centralization and demanded a greater regional autonomy, the separation of church and state, and the suppression of the ministry of public worship. But Sagasta declared, and General Weyler affirmed it in the provinces, that the government was opposed to regionalism and to all campaigns undertaken against the integrity of the country.

Side by side with the religious and federalist movements went an agitation among the workingmen and the Socialists. Strikes of extensive proportions occurred frequently, often leading to the proclamation of martial law, as in the case of Seville and Barcelona. Sagasta and the Liberals, who had come into power for the first time since the Spanish-American war, announced a strong programme, of which little was carried out, however, owing to the difficulties of the situation. In order to ascertain how far the religious orders were authorized and to what extent they were complying with the laws, the government required their registration before June 5, 1902. Shortly afterward a drastic measure was adopted for the regulation of non-official schools, which also involved to some extent the congregations. In May, 1902, the regency of the queen came to an end, and the young king was crowned as Alphonso XIII. (PLATE XV.) Sagasta, on the other hand, was coming to the end of his long years of service; the Liberal party was weakened by internal dissensions, and unable to maintain his position longer, he resigned in December and died one month later. He was succeeded by Silvela, the leader of the Conservatives, pledged to an anti-clerical policy, the increase of the navy, and obligatory military service without exemption of the privileged orders. But he met with much opposition from within his own party, and in July he resigned, notwithstanding the large government majority in the elections. His successor, Villaverde, inau-

PLATE XX.



ALFONSO XIII. KING OF SPAIN.

gured a policy of strict economy, opposition to naval increase, and the repression of Republicanism. In August measures for repression were begun, Republican meetings were suppressed, and Republican agitators—particularly editors—arrested and persecuted. But despite these efforts the municipal election in November, 1903, resulted in large victories for the Republicans. After a tenure of office of only six months Villaverde resigned, and Señor Maura formed an ultra-conservative cabinet. He took up again the policy of increasing the navy, announced a programme for the reform of the electoral system, and continued the repressive measures against Republicans.

Confronted by the religious, the regional, and the labor questions; by the perennial difficulty with the budget; by the need of a revision of taxation, of the reform of education, of the modification of her electoral and jury systems, and the difficulties of the management of the African colony, together with the task of maintaining friendly international relations in connection with Gibraltar, Morocco, and the Mediterranean, Spain had before her a task that might well test the abilities of her ablest statesmen. Electoral reform was needed to improve the political morality of the country; a strong government with a successful foreign policy alone could remedy the regional discontent; rigid economy, even in the face of the demands of the army and navy, needed to be exercised if Spain was to undergo financial reorganization, while infinite tact and firmness seemed necessary in order to avoid a religious war.

Portugal, having long since relinquished that cherished ideal of Spanish and Portuguese politicians, Iberian union, remained little disturbed by internal disorders. King Louis I., who had come to the throne in 1861, sought to restore the impaired prestige of his state by the revival of the African colonial policy. In 1877 he despatched an expedition commanded by Major Serpa Pinto, and made strenuous efforts to extend and consolidate his East and West African possessions, Angola and Mozambique. The claim based upon Serpa Pinto's expedition, which had in fact traversed Africa from Loanda to Durban, England denied on the ground that Serpa Pinto had not explored the inland region sufficiently to constitute "effective occupation" according to the interpretation of the phrase embodied in the international agreement of 1885. England's position roused great indignation at Lisbon, where the project of a Portuguese belt in Southern Africa from sea to sea was popular. The Portuguese, who deemed the interference of England an impertinent aggression and an encroachment upon their ancient rights, would not listen to England's assertion that Portugal had never had rights, or that, if she had possessed any, she had forfeited them by her impotent

colonial methods. The policy of King Louis was taken up by his son, Carlos (Fig. 115), who succeeded to the throne in 1889; and when England's attitude became more threatening, and at last an ultimatum was sent from London (January 11, 1890) demanding that Portugal vacate the disputed territory, what amounted almost to a revolution broke out in Lisbon. The Portuguese government, forced to yield, acceded under protest to the British demands; but so indignant was the populace that the cabinet was obliged to resign, and for a time the monarchy itself seemed to be in peril. But the government stood firm, and, when riots broke out in Lisbon, placed the city in a state of siege. Inasmuch, however, as the popular indignation did not subside, and the republican opposition, taking advantage of the occasion, attacked the



FIG. 115.—Carlos I., King of Portugal.

monarchy, and moreover, as Portugal put into operation a boycott of England, Lord Salisbury thought it the better part of valor to modify the British demands and cede to Portugal a considerable strip of the territory in dispute. Although her scheme of joining her eastern and western provinces was frustrated, Portugal, by the agreement of 1891, had the inner boundaries of her African possessions determined and her territory considerably extended.

With this crisis safely passed, the government found itself confronted with a financial situation that rapidly assumed alarming proportions. Under ordinary circumstances Portugal had not been able to meet her expenses, and had incurred a debt which was far larger than she could carry, and to which she was adding her yearly deficit. Efforts to solve

this problem led to the downfall of cabinet after cabinet. In 1892 a high protective tariff was imposed, and new taxes were added in 1896. The king and members of the royal family sacrificed 20 per cent. of their income, salaries were reduced, and the foreign debt scaled. The situation was desperate, and the measures taken heroic; but even these did not suffice. The taxation of 1893 drove the industrial and commercial classes into revolt, with the result that for three years parliamentary government was suspended and government was carried on by royal decree. The king changed the electoral system, reduced the number of deputies, introduced payment of deputies, and established *scrutin de liste*. Later, the elective portion of the Chamber of Peers was abolished. This intermission of popular government produced great apathy and indifference in the country, so that, when finally elections were held and the Cortes summoned in 1896, very little interest was taken in its work. Political and ministerial crises continued. In 1899, all other resources having been exhausted, the government turned for help to the colonies, which in the years since 1870 had cost the state \$75,000,000 instead of netting it a surplus. Rejecting the proposition to sell the colonies outright, and receiving from Great Britain, Germany, and other adjacent powers renewed assurances of protection, the government determined to reorganize the colonial administration in order to make the colonies at least self-supporting. The deficit of 2660 contos of reis, or nearly \$3,000,000, disclosed by the budget of February, 1900, the minister of finance hoped to cover by increasing the stamp duties and land tax, by diminishing the loss on exchange, and by making the colonies pay certain expenses hitherto met by the home government. In June, 1900, a new ministry under the conservative Ribeiro came into power, and the elections of November resulted in a victory for the Ministerialists, not a single Republican or Socialist obtaining a seat. In the matter of the debt, this new government was not disposed to modify the situation created in 1892 and 1893.

In Portugal, as in Spain and France, the excitement of the year 1901 was anti-clerical. An attempt to bring, contrary to the wishes of her father, the daughter of the Brazilian consul into a convent led to outbreaks in Oporto and for several weeks afterward to denunciations of the monks by the press. On March 7 the opposition in the Chamber questioned the government regarding its policy and demanded that the law of 1834 against religious orders be enforced; and a day or two later, an association of journalists and men of letters sent in a protest against the arbitrary methods employed by the police in suppressing the agitation. The government appointed a committee to examine into the activ-

ities of the religious orders, and on March 24 issued a decree closing the chapel of the French Reparatrice Sisters and a house of Portuguese priests affiliated with the Jesuits at Oporto. By later orders other religious houses were closed. The government, declaring its determination to enforce rigorously the laws of 1759, 1833, and 1834, continued to close churches and chapels in the cities of Portugal and the colonies. A committee of the orders, who had appealed to the king and had been granted an audience in April, proved ineffectual, since the king was as much opposed to the religious congregations as were his ministers. A letter from the pope to the Patriarch of Lisbon, by which the pope incurred from the Anti-Clericals the charge of interfering in affairs of state, only made matters worse. Finally on April 22 the *Official Journal* published a decree, countersigned by the king, confirming the old laws and closing all monastic institutions that did not conform to certain specified conditions. During 1902 demonstrations against the religious associations subsided, but new and serious agitations arose over the negotiations with the holders of the national debt. The matter was finally settled by a reduction by one-half of the capital of the 3 per cent. debt, much to the dissatisfaction of the foreign holders. But notwithstanding this the serious financial situation led to a cabinet crisis in February, 1903. Señor Ribeiro, however, remained as head of the new ministry. Financial conditions did not improve much, extravagant expenditures were incurred, and the budget for 1903-04 showed a large deficit. The industrial dissatisfaction continued, and the government was forced to adopt a policy of great severity toward the working classes. To these difficulties were added the hostility of the clergy and the danger of a war with the church, and the difficulty of maintaining and governing colonial possessions of considerable extent. Yet the position of the little kingdom was far from discouraging. Her king was showing himself a man of more ability than had been commonly supposed, and in the recent crises the government had displayed unexpected firmness. An interchange of visits with King Edward VII. was followed in 1904 by the announcement of an important treaty with England.

The grand duchy of Luxemburg had been ceded to Holland in the treaty of Utrecht in 1713. A century later, when the powers assembled at Vienna sought to restore as nearly as might be to their original possessors the lands annexed by Napoleon to France, they gave Luxemburg back to the house of Orange, itself restored by the congress to the throne of the Netherlands. The grand duchy became a member of the Germanic confederation, and the grand duke, who was the King of Hol-

land, was represented by a deputy in the federal diet. The city of Luxembourg was made a federal fortress occupied by a Prussian garrison while the King of Prussia had the right of appointing the military governor. In 1815, under the Dutch constitution of that year, the King of Holland organized the grand duchy as a province.

The position of the little principality was unique. Bound to Holland by a personal tie, it was a member of the German confederation, with its chief city in the hands of the Prussians, and the remainder of its territory administered by Dutch officials. The majority of its inhabitants were Catholics, and at that time French was the prevailing language. In 1830 the greater number of the inhabitants joined the revolt of the Belgian provinces against the house of Orange, the city of Luxembourg, which was in the hands of Prussian troops, alone refusing to move. When in 1839 the powers agreed upon the terms according to which the kingdom of Belgium should be established, they cut Luxembourg in two, transforming the western portion into a province of Belgium and restoring the remainder to the King of Holland.

After the overthrow of the Germanic confederation in 1866, the disposal of the grand duchy became a problem difficult of solution. The state could not become a part of the North German confederation, nor yet could it be annexed to Prussia. Napoleon III. proposed to buy it outright of the King of Holland, who was willing enough to sell, but Bismarck interfered and refused to permit the transaction. Thereupon the powers met at London in 1867 and agreed that Prussia should withdraw her garrison, since it was considered by France a dangerous menace at one of the most vulnerable points on her frontier, and that the grand duchy should become an indivisible, inalienable, and neutral state, without an army or any fortifications. After 1867 the grand duchy remained under the personal administration of William III. until 1890. With the death of the king, however, and the failure of the male line—a daughter, Wilhelmina, being the heir to the throne—the grand duchy separated from Holland, and, in accordance with the terms of the treaty of 1815, passed to the next male successor of the house of Orange-Nassau. From that time it became an independent state under the government of Adolphus, Duke of Nassau, who had been deprived of his principality by Prussia in 1866.

The little state of Luxembourg, scarcely more than thirty miles square, with approximately 240,000 inhabitants, had yet its own constitution, its own council of state, its own Chamber of Deputies, with a membership of 45, elected by manhood suffrage. The inhabitants are for the most part Germans, although French is the official language. Two parties

controlled the political life of the grand duchy : a Clerical and a Liberal, and the chief questions that arose in the chambers related to finances, schools, and language. The fact that the heir apparent, who was appointed regent in April, 1902, had no male descendants, caused considerable apprehension lest the question of the succession should again be raised in the near future. An agreement of the same year between the management of the Luxemburg railway and the directors of that of Alsace-Lorraine prolonging the latter's lease of the Luxemburg road for fifty years more, was significant, because of the strategic importance of the road, which was thus virtually incorporated in the railway system of the German Empire. For commercial purposes the duchy was included in the German Zollverein, the mining and smelting industries being of considerable importance. The existence of this independent state, and the fact that it had never been annexed to any larger state, was due almost entirely to its important location at the meeting-point of France, Germany, Belgium, and Holland. Protected as it was by international agreement, its existence was bound to be maintained as conducing to the peace of Europe.

CHAPTER IX.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE BALKAN STATES.

UNDER Abdul Hamid II. the material conditions of the Ottoman empire since 1885 had improved very considerably. In 1888 railway communication had been established for the first time with the European capitals; a line from the Servian frontier to Larissa had been opened; and on August 12 of that year another line had been opened through Servia and Bulgaria. During the decade that followed, the length of road was extended to over 2000 miles, of which 1300 were in Asia Minor, and 213 in Syria; and the miles of telegraph wires and number of post-offices increased, though more slowly. Turkish finances also improved. The debt, which had been placed under the management of an international council of administration, was systematically controlled, though in 1899 it still amounted to nearly \$600,000,000, not including the Russian indemnity, and of this something over \$100,000,000 had been contracted since 1888. In addition to the customary returns from taxes and revenues, the government had the Egyptian, Cyprian, Eastern Rumelian, and Bulgarian tributes to swell its receipts; and in 1898 it had in addition the Grecian indemnity of \$20,000,000, which it wished to use to equip the army, but which, in consequence of a vigorous protest from Russia, it agreed to divide between the army and the Russian indemnity. Much was done to stimulate education, the sultan himself spending large sums from his private purse for this purpose; but, owing to the strict censorship and to the superstition of the people, the results were on the whole slight. Very little encouragement was given to freedom of speech; for text-books, newspapers, and all Occidental literature were subject to rigid scrutiny, and anything revolutionary, contrary to the Koran, or critical of Ottoman policy was struck out. In one respect the Turk was abreast of the times: in 1890 he prohibited the slave-trade in the empire and its dependencies.

In 1891 a change was made in the ministers at Constantinople: officials favorable to England were dismissed, and others more inclined to Russia and France were appointed, a change which betokened a new



FIG. 116.—Sultan Abdul Hamid II.

policy and implied that the sultan was determined to uphold his sovereign rights in Egypt, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, and to defend the integrity of the Ottoman empire. Concessions were made to Russia regarding the passage of Russian war-ships through the Dardanelles, which as a threatened breach of international agreement led to an ex-

change of notes with England and a final settlement of Russian privileges in accordance with the treaty of 1841, that forbade any but merchant-vessels to pass the straits. The Ottoman hostility for England arose in part from the belief that the British in Egypt had something to do with the outbreak which took place among the Arabs in Yemen in 1891; but it was probably due in larger part to Great Britain's continued occupation of Egypt and practical control of a government that was tributary to the Porte.

But Abdul Hamid II. (Fig. 116), while making many concessions to the outside powers, notably Russia, was nevertheless rigidly devoted to the Pan-Islam doctrine of Turkey for the Turks, and after 1890 began systematically to Pan-Islamize the empire. Shutting himself up in his palace and working many hours a day, but without intelligent or statesmanlike guidance, he made himself more than ever the personal ruler of Turkey. He determined to replace Christians with Mussulmans, to take away as many as possible of the privileges granted to Christians, and by his pro-Islam attitude gave encouragement to the Mussulmans throughout the empire. In consequence of this policy the relations between Mussulmans and Christians changed materially for the worse between 1890 and 1894. Brutality on the part of officials and use of torture were permitted, and unjust sentences directed not only against Christians, but against all non-Mussulmans in the empire, were of frequent occurrence. The privileges that had been granted in the *Hat-Humayum* of 1856, some of which had been maintained with difficulty during the years that followed, were practically all abolished, and the promises made to the powers at Berlin in 1878 remained a dead letter; tax-collecting was restored to the police; torture and capital punishment were instituted, and liberty of worship was seriously limited. This policy worked great hardship to all Christians during the years from 1891 to 1898, but the Armenians were the greatest sufferers.

The Armenians in past times had formed a great and independent state, with a history of their own; but under Turkish rule the people had become so broken up that in the nineteenth century they were united by no other bonds than their language and their creed. They were scattered over the empire, and even those that were in the old home were divided into communities, among whom existed much rivalry and jealousy. By the war of 1877 a part of Armenia had been brought under Russian rule, and this existence of a Russian and Turkish Armenia only emphasized the disunity already present. But in its turn this condition led to the inauguration of various movements for the promotion of national unity. The more moderate of the leaders conducted

at first an educational campaign; but they were replaced by more radical nationalists, who wished by revolutionary means to attract the attention of the European powers and obtain the freedom of Armenia, as the Bulgarians had obtained the freedom of Bulgaria. Having organized the Hunchagist Society, they made revolutionary and incendiary demonstrations, stirring the Turkish officials to acts of retaliation; but this revolutionary movement was national in name only, for it did not represent the opinions of the greater number of the Armenians. Moreover, during the years of peace from 1878 to 1890, so great had been their prosperity that in 1891 and later their wealth attracted the cupidity of the Turkish tax-collectors, mostly Kurds; lawlessness and brigandage became common in the mountains of Armenia; and in 1893 and 1894 conflicts between Armenians on one side and Turkish officials on the other were of daily occurrence. Thus the fact that the Armenians were prosperous Christians, who were strongly suspected of aiming at national independence and were consequently chargeable with sedition, was sufficient to make them the object of Turkish suspicion.

In 1893 trouble began with the arrest of individual Armenians and heavy imposition of taxes. News began to penetrate to the west, of the treatment of Armenian prisoners; and though much of it was exaggerated, a sufficient amount of truth lay behind the exaggerations to lead the British government, which by the Cyprus convention was the special guardian of the Armenians, to demand of the Porte more just and humane treatment. In 1894, urged on by the Ottoman government, the mountain Kurds made a general attack on the villages of the Armenians and were aided by Turkish regulars. In August and September, at Sassun, a general massacre took place: villages were surrounded and their inhabitants were slaughtered, individuals were tortured to death, women were outraged, and children were burned. After some pressure from the powers, a commission composed of the dragomans of the British, French, and Russian consulates at Erzerum began an investigation in February, 1895; and its report, together with continued outbreaks between Christians and Mussulmans, led to the drafting of a joint note by England, France, and Russia, demanding of the Porte specific reforms in administration, taxation, police service, and legal procedure, and a revision of the laws governing the legal relations between Mussulmans and Christians. For the moment there was hope of Ottoman acquiescence; but when the sultan changed his vizier and appointed another who was opposed to England and favorable to Russia, this hope died away. At first the sultan denied the right of the powers to interfere; then on September 7, 1895, he sent in a set of

promises which did not satisfy the Salisbury government, which had come into power June 25 of that year. Having despatched an English fleet to the Dardanelles on September 28, Lord Salisbury demanded that the European governments should be represented on a permanent committee of control, and that the head of the High Commission charged with the execution of the reforms should be a Christian selected by the powers. But the sultan, believing that these demands reflected upon his dignity, appealed to Russia, who, supported by France, seemed satisfied with the sultan's promises and refused to follow England. This lack of accord among the powers stirred up the Hunchagists of Constantinople, and new disturbances began with a view to forcing the powers to interfere. A monster demonstration was organized in September to present a petition to the sultan, but this ill-advised action only resulted in a street conflict and massacre in which 2500 were killed. England now seemed ready to force an entrance through the Dardanelles, and France too despatched a fleet to the Levant; but Russia refused to employ coercion, and France, unwilling to endanger the Russian alliance, finally adopted Russia's view.

The sultan, placed in a perilous position between the powers and an indignant Europe on one side and an equally determined Pan-Islamite Turkey on the other, saw in the division among the diplomats his way of escape. Confident that the powers could not agree on common action and would not use force, he took up the Mussulman cause, authorized great massacres in 1895 and 1896, and despatched emissaries to push them through. From Trebizond, where these emissaries disembarked, the slaughter followed a direct course into the interior: Erzerum, Kharput, Bitlis, Diarbekr, Marash, Aintab show the route of the envoys. With inexpressible cruelty 150,000 men, women, and children were killed, burnt, or buried alive, and yet Europe seemed powerless. The six powers had a large fleet in the Levant, but did no more than demand permission to send an extra guard-ship to Constantinople. The feeling spread that Russia, believing the Armenians to be revolutionists and anxious to avoid war or any trouble along the southern border, would do nothing, and that Germany, with ambitious colonial and commercial projects in the East, seemed afraid of offending the sultan. During 1896 the massacres, which had been inaugurated for the purpose of crushing out the only Christian community of size and strength in the Ottoman empire, assumed a more religious character. Murder pure and simple gave way to conversion or murder. Thousands of Armenians were forced formally to accept Islamism. In Kharput, churches were transformed into mosques; at Abbastan a whole community professed

conversion; everywhere Christian worship was discouraged and even prevented. In June, 1896, a fierce conflict took place in Van; while the further inflammatory methods of the Hunchagists stirred up strife in Constantinople, where an attack on the Ottoman bank ended in indiscriminate slaughter. The powers addressed another collective note to the Porte on September 15, and the sultan made the usual solemn promises, this time of protection and reconciliation with the Armenians. On November 12 he authorized the summons of a national Armenian assembly, and on the 22d proclaimed an amnesty. Though massacres on a large scale ceased in 1897 and 1898, yet isolated instances of persecution and murder were constantly reported, and both the Armenian patriarch and the Hunchagist Society made frequent appeals to the powers for help. The former resigned; but after an *iradé* had been issued in October, 1899, which promised reforms, he retained office, though positively affirming that the *iradé* would never be put in force.

The Armenian question was entirely overshadowed in 1897 by the difficulty with Crete and Greece. As early as 1888 Tricoupis, the Greek premier, had been forced by popular sentiment to send a note to the powers regarding the position of the Cretans; but during the following years serious outbreaks were avoided. The Cretans had the same reason for revolution as had the Armenians, but there was this difference, that in Crete there were 270,000 Christians to 45,000 Mussulmans, while in Armenia the numbers were reversed. In 1896 war broke out, and the Cretans were assisted with arms and ammunition sent by the Cretan committee in Athens. In June the powers interfered and gained from the Porte a promise of Cretan autonomy, including a general amnesty, suspension of hostilities, convocation of the assembly, a Christian governor-general, and the newer constitution of 1878. An assembly was called; but the more radical Cretans wanted either entire political autonomy or annexation to Greece, and a deadlock immediately ensued. The situation on the island grew worse. Volunteers came from Greece, Mussulmans were massacred, villages plundered and burnt, fields devastated. A scheme of settlement was proposed by Austria, but delay in the introduction of the reforms led to a renewal of the disturbances and to the issue by King George of a proclamation in February, 1897, announcing the annexation of Crete to Greece. Thereupon the king despatched war-ships and a flotilla of torpedo-boats; but immediately the powers declared that neither Greek nor Turk would be allowed to land, and that they jointly would occupy the ports. The Greeks, however, succeeded in landing troops under Colonel Vassos. But true to their threat, the powers interfered, stopped a Greek vessel conveying arms, and, when the

PLATE XVI.



Prince George of Greece, High Commissioner of Crete.

Portrait of Prince George of Greece.

Greeks and insurgents advanced on Cania, February 21, opened fire and drove them off. On March 2 the powers presented an ultimatum, saying that under no circumstances could Crete be annexed to Greece and demanding the withdrawal of the Greeks from Crete. This ultimatum seemed to make the Greeks desperate; the government declared that it would not abandon the Cretan cause and begged the powers to let the Cretans themselves declare how they would be governed. The powers placed the island under rigid blockade, so that, when war broke out between Turkey and Greece, Colonel Vassos and his troops were unable to leave the island; and not until May did they finally depart.

During this time the island was under the government of the admirals of the allied fleets, who maintained order with difficulty. Crete was divided into two hostile camps: the Christians in the interior, the Mussulmans in the coast towns; and fighting and murder were of daily occurrence. An assembly was summoned; but negotiations regarding autonomy did not prosper, and the powers seemed unable to agree upon a governor. One name after another was proposed, only to be rejected. Finally that of Prince George of Greece was presented; but Turkey, who was now supported in all matters by Germany, thought that this meant eventual annexation and opposed it. In June, 1898, a temporary government was erected, consisting of a committee from the assembly, acting under the joint admirals, with a Cretan, Dr. Sphakianaki, as the head of the executive council. So slow, however, were the powers in reaching a settlement that both Mussulmans and Christians became exasperated and continued the rioting; and not until December, 1898, when Prince George (PLATE XVI.) was accepted as the only available candidate and made High Commissioner, did trouble cease. Then the admirals withdrew, after two years of exceptionally skilful management under discouraging circumstances, and the general supervision of the island was handed over to an international committee of the powers, sitting at Rome. The administration of Prince George during 1899 and 1900 was marked by large emigration of the Mussulmans, return of Christian Cretans, the drafting of a constitution, which was ratified by an extraordinary national assembly on March 16, 1899, and by the adoption of Greek as the official language. The prince proved to be a popular and efficient governor, and the island entered upon a new and more peaceful phase of its history. Grave problems, however, remained to be solved, and already in 1900 and 1901 important questions were dividing the people into parties and giving rise to political rivalries after the fashion of the western world. The most important question was that of annexation to Greece, and in June the Cretan assembly passed a resolution in its favor. But the four protesting powers adhered to a demand in

Prince George prohibiting such action. At the same time they persuaded him to continue as High Commissioner for three years longer, his administration being remarkably successful considering the difficulties. Besides his efforts to bring about the economic regeneration of the country, he has been very successful in securing greater freedom from Turkey.

In other parts of the empire agitations, growing out of racial and religious antagonisms, were also present. Uprisings at Muscat and Jiddah in 1895 were followed the year after in European Turkey by disturbances among the Albanians and Macedonians, both peoples demanding eventual autonomy and release from Turkish rule. During 1898 and 1899 the oppressive and violent acts of Turkish officials in matters of taxes, passports, and appointment of local officials, drove both regions to the verge of revolt. The famous Macedonian Revolutionary Committee urged armed resistance, and in 1901 outbreaks occurred along the frontier regions, which led to frequent encounters with the Turkish troops. Brigandage and lawlessness prevailed. In October Miss Stone, an American missionary, was captured by a Bulgarian band, and her release was only effected by the payment of a heavy ransom in the following year. During the next two years the area of the disturbances increased greatly. Bulgaria's manifest sympathy for the insurgents and the aid given them called forth a note of warning from the Porte threatening war. The uprisings continued to spread; in the early summer of 1903 the districts of Adrianople and Monastir were in insurrection, and a little later a general rising in Macedonia occurred. Terrible atrocities were committed by insurgents and Turks alike. The representations to the powers by Bulgaria and the Macedonian Committee, calling for intervention and giving details of the outrages in the disaffected regions, were almost past belief.

In February, 1903, Austria and Russia drew up a programme for reform, which was further elaborated in October and accepted by the Porte and the powers. According to this plan reforms were to be carried out under the supervision of Austria and Russia, as the two powers most deeply interested. Unfortunately the new reform scheme was restricted to Macedonia, while reforms were equally urgent in the districts of Adrianople and Albania. It provided for the appointment of an Inspector-General, who was to be assisted by the two agents, "in order to establish control over the activity of the Ottoman local officials in regard to the application of reforms," and "a general officer of foreign nationality in the service of the Ottoman government," who should be entrusted with "the task of reorganizing the *gendarmérie*." It also stipulated for the reorganization of the administrative and judicial institutions so as "to make them accessible to native Christians, and to favor the

development of local autonomies," while "mixed commissions" were to investigate the causes and crimes of the recent disturbances. After some hesitation the Porte gave his assent to the proposals, and the powers began to carry them into effect. An Italian, General de Giorgio, was put in charge of the reorganization of the *yaylak* districts, and the *sanjak* general of the two powers were charged with the duties of civil agents and inspectors. But the Porte, who had not expected that the terms of the scheme would be insisted on too closely, took alarm and began to put difficulties in the way of its execution. This led to a threat on the part of the two powers to employ force, and the work of reform was allowed to go on. But, despite it all, the disturbances in Macedonia and other disaffected regions continued.

Long before this Asiatic Turkey was beginning to attract the interest of European powers. Asia Minor, Syria, and Mesopotamia, hitherto classed among the derelict lands of the earth, were the richest and most valuable portions as yet unappropriated by a civilized power, for they were capable of great industrial improvement and admirably fitted for colonization. "In these districts," says a competent writer, "there are no immense primeval forests to be felled and uprooted, no constant struggle against hostile aborigines, no rapacious animals, no malignant diseases. This territory has a mild and, on the whole, a healthy climate. The soil is of inexhaustible fertility and there is a sufficient water-supply." This region had fallen within the range of the world interests of the German emperor, who no longer viewed the Eastern question as not worth to Germany the bones of a Pomeranian grenadier. As far back as 1883 German generals had begun to drill the Turkish army and German officers to take service with the Porte. In 1891 Germany had renounced the capitulations at Turkey's request; and during the Cretan struggle and the Greco-Turkish war the emperor had shown unmistakable sympathy for Turkey. German firms, even though not always lowest bidders, were given contracts for cannon, smokeless powder, and other ammunition; German bankers made loans, and German companies received important railroad and postal concessions. But, most striking of all, was the visit of William II. to Constantinople and Palestine in October, 1898. On October 16 the emperor and empress reached Constantinople, where for six days they were fêted with true royal splendor and display. On the 22d they sailed for Haifa, and from there visited Jerusalem and Damascus. The emperor's pilgrimage was nothing less than an imperial progress, gilded with Oriental pomp and attended with spectacular demonstrations. His words, too, were no less remarkable. At Damascus he said: "May his Majesty the sultan, and may the 300,000,000 Mussulmans scattered about the earth, rest assured that at

all times the German emperor is their friend." The journey was an imperial promenade. William II. was in part a touring pilgrim, but in greater part was he an advance agent of German expansion and colonization. Asia Minor had already become a field for German industrial activity; German colonists were in Syria; a German company was building the road connecting the Mediterranean with the Euphrates valley; German banking-firms had representatives in Asia Minor; German post-offices had been opened at Smyrna, Beirut, and Jerusalem; while German goods, owing to their cheapness, were circulating in increasing quantities through the Levantine region where the people were poor. French influence had declined in the Levant, French commerce had diminished, French political ascendancy was slipping away, and even the religious protectorate which France had so long exercised was threatened not only by Germany, but by the pope, who was inclined to retaliate upon France for her attack upon the religious orders. Already had William II. made his peace with the Centrists and with the pope, and had tried to become the protector of missions in Asia Minor as well as in China.

At the beginning of the twentieth century Syria and Mesopotamia were rapidly opening to civilization. Large numbers of German colonists were in Northern Palestine, where they not only settled as agriculturists, but acted as intermediaries in disbursing German wares. The German Oriental Company was specially concerned to promote their interests and increase their numbers. Jewish colonies, too, had become well established in Palestine, where, out of a population of 200,000, one-fifth were Jews. They were bringing about a great change in the aspect of the country and were showing the rural population how agriculture should be carried on; they were active in the production of corn, grapes, olives, oranges, melons, almonds, and other fruits, were engaged in an extensive wine industry, supported an agricultural school, the net earnings of which had already amounted to enough to maintain the teachers and 100 pupils, and notably about Jaffa were turning the wastes into flourishing fields. Although the Zionist movement, as preached in Europe, did not seem likely to succeed, the agitation connected with it had been undoubtedly beneficial to Palestine, and competent witnesses deemed the future of that land bright. Already had the Anatolian Railroad Company, under German control, obtained permission from the Porte to build the Euphrates valley road, from Konia by way of Marash, Diarbekr, and Musul, to Bagdad and the Persian Gulf. By the Bagdad Railway Convention of 1902 the company was given exclusive concessions for ninety-nine years to construct and maintain the road, Turkey guaranteeing a specific sum per kilometre for the building and working expenses. It was also stipulated that the existing lines should be im-

proved so as to make them suitable for express service between Constantinople and the Persian Gulf. The total length of the Bagdad system, including branch lines, was to be 2500 kilometres, and promised, when completed, not only to open up a most fertile region to colonizers and trade, but to shorten the route to India. Other projects were a road from Tripoli to Koweyt, another from Gaza into the region east of the Jordan, another from Jerusalem to Bagdad, and still another from Damascus to Mecca. Russia had already obtained concessions for a line from Kars to Erzerum, and had her demand for construction privileges in Anatolia granted; while the demand of France for the right to construct a road from Damascus to Hamah, which Russia supported, had been allowed in May, 1900.

In Constantinople, after the war with Greece, the Young Turkey party, which in the past had represented progress and reform and sympathy for western methods, was confronted with reconciliation with the government or exile from Turkey. Many came over to the side of the government, and nearly all the leaders—including Murad Bey—were allowed to return to Constantinople. But during 1898 the number of the Young Turks seemed on the increase, and many arrests for sedition were made. Reshad Bey, son of the late grand vizier, was arrested, Mahmud Pasha, the sultan's brother-in-law, fled in 1899, while a petition of the Liberal committee of Young Turks to the foreign powers in 1900, describing the situation in Turkey, urged that the time had come to put an end to the sultan's régime.

The position of the Turk in Europe in 1904 remained as before, a problem which the European powers confessed themselves unable to solve. It was scarcely possible that the Austro-Russian scheme of reform would succeed in protecting the non-Mohammedan subjects. The state was bankrupt and in frequent conflict with other governments. In 1901, France, after having tried in vain for three years to obtain satisfaction for certain claims, seized Mitylene and took possession of the customs, as a result of which the Porte promptly agreed to the demands. The foreign post-offices were a constant source of difficulty with the western powers, while with the Bulgarians there was the ever-present trouble over the persecution of their fellows in Turkey. Armenians, Albanians, Bulgarians, and peoples of Yemen and Samos were in revolt, soldiers were poorly paid, the Young Turkey party was thoroughly disaffected, while the sultan, of a character so contradictory as to puzzle all observers, diplomatically shrewd, but possessed of few statesmanlike powers, lived apart from his people and encouraged rather than checked a régime characterized by favoritism, espionage, administrative anarchy, cruelty, and corruption.

Greece, having revised her constitution in 1886 and reorganized her army in 1887, had established what appeared to be a modern and liberal régime. But her financial embarrassment was great. Her enormous debt, out of all proportion to the productivity of the country, had been incurred partly for expensive public works, such as railroads and canals, and partly for an army and navy commensurate with what she believed to be her needs as a progressive Balkan state, with neighbors like Bulgaria, who was constantly threatening to break into Macedonia, and like Turkey, who still possessed Crete and Epirus. The Delyannis ministry of 1885 and 1886 and the Tricoupis ministry of 1886 to 1890 had been

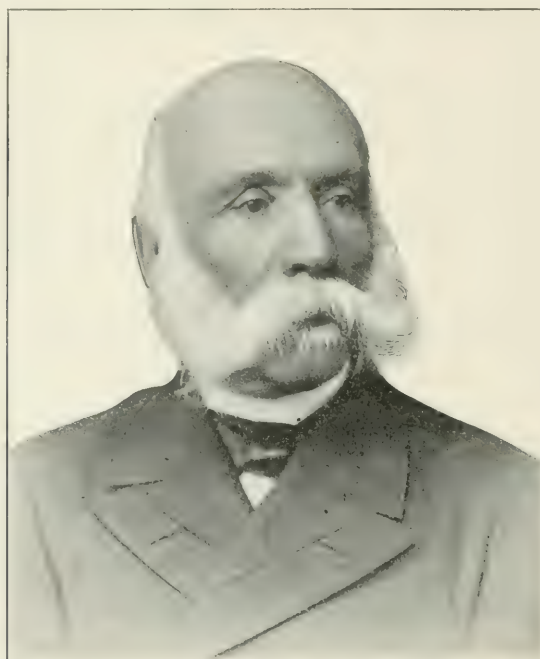


FIG. 117.—Delyannis.

guilty of reckless financiering, borrowing at ruinous rates, and so not only increasing the debt, but depreciating the value of Greek paper and bringing about a consequent depression in trade and commerce. Both the issue of paper money in Greece and the revival of the Cretan question led to the fall of Tricoupis in 1890; but the financial difficulty alone brought about the dismissal of Delyannis (Fig. 117) in 1892. Desperate remedies had been adopted by these ministers until the point was reached where Greece could contract no loan without hypothecating the most reliable revenues in advance, an act which

would have necessitated foreign supervision. To this indignity Greece would not submit, and consequently in 1893 declared herself nationally bankrupt.

That Greece should have been obliged to face such a situation was in no small degree due to bad government and loose financialing methods. The people were thrifty, sober, and patriotic, and the resources of the country were adequate. In 1895 the Deliyannis ministry came into power, and at once began negotiating commercial treaties whereby freer trade was to be inaugurated and the general productivity of the country increased. By a convention with Egypt, Greece acquired a new market for her tobacco; by a treaty with Belgium the duty on currants was reduced one-fifth, and an equally advantageous treaty was made with Sweden. An excellent reciprocity arrangement was made with Russia; but before it could take effect, owing to disputes regarding certain clauses, it was abrogated. During the year public order was well preserved and vigorous attempts were made to put down brigandage, with the result that in June the last of three famous and dangerous bands was destroyed and its leader killed. In 1896 the seventy-fifth anniversary of the declaration of Greek independence was celebrated, and the most important of the exercises—the Olympic games—were held in a marble stadion in Athens and attended by athletes from all parts of the world. Though no arrangement was reached with the foreign creditors, who rejected the government's proposals, and though the government was paying only 30 per cent. of the interest, yet the outlook for a satisfactory solution of the financial problem seemed good. The country in the main continued prosperous, agriculture improved, and social and educational interests were advanced. The death of Tricoupis on April 11, 1896, left the opposition party without a leader and deprived Greece of a statesman who, though too optimistic regarding the part that Greece ought to play in the Balkan peninsula, and too lavish in his expenditures for army, navy, and public works, had nevertheless done much to raise Greece to the position of a modern civilized power.

But while Greece was thus improving herself, she was threatened with the loss of all that she had thus far gained, and was about to enter upon one of the most unfortunate periods in her career as an independent state. In Egypt, Crete, Macedonia, and other parts of the Ottoman empire existed members of the Hellenic race, whose deliverance it had been the dream of Greek statesmen like Tricoupis to effect. For thirty years the treatment to which the Hellenes had been subjected in the Ottoman empire had been a cause of constant friction between the Greek government and the Porte; but beyond occasional military displays, and

actual preparation for war in 1885, when the powers had to interfere, nothing had been done. When at last the Cretans, excited by the Armenian atrocities in 1896, rose against Turkey, the national feeling in Greece could no longer be controlled. A national society, *Ethnike Hetairia*, was organized in 1895 with the avowed purpose of recovering for Greece her unredeemed territories—Macedonia, Epirus, and Crete. It was a powerful and wealthy organization, composed of men in the highest social and official ranks in Greece, and it succeeded not only in stirring up national feeling at home by meetings and patriotic literature and abroad by secret agents, but in practically seizing control of the government and compelling it to comply with the society's requests. In 1896 it organized its own body of troops, equipped them and set them in motion, as a means of compelling the government to go to war or of provoking war by systematic raids across the frontier into Turkish territory. With the rising in Crete, the pouring of Cretan refugees into Athens, and the reports of massacres and outrages by Mussulmans, came the opportunity for the society. In the autumn of 1896 it obtained from the Greek Chamber an appropriation for military purposes. The king, unable to resist the national pressure, proclaimed the union of Crete with Greece and on February 5 despatched two war-ships and a week later a flotilla of torpedo-boats to prevent the Turks from landing on the island. But the powers intervened and notified Greece that she would not be allowed to carry out her design. The Greek government persisted; and Colonel Vassos, who had been instructed to occupy the island in the name of King George, did so, disembarking his troops on the 15th near Canea. But when the insurgents and Greeks attacked the city, the powers interposed, and by bombarding their position compelled them to retire.

In the meantime both Turks and Greeks had begun to concentrate troops in Macedonia, Epirus, and Thessaly, the Turks making their headquarters at Ellassona, the Greeks at Larissa and Arta. The Greek forces, at no time numerically as strong as the Turks, were composed of the regular troops, including the *Euzones* or men of the mountains, and irresponsible irregulars organized and equipped by the *Ethnike Hetairia*. While the two armies were facing each other across the frontier, these insurgent forces made a series of raids into Macedonia for the purpose of inciting the Epirotes and Macedonians to rise *en masse* against the Turks; but the only result of these criminally ill-judged actions was to draw from Turkey a declaration of war, April 17. A general assault followed at once on the Greeks entrenched between the Melina and Mt. Elias passes on the frontier; and this, the first maintained action, lasted

twenty-three hours, at the end of which time the Greeks, demoralized, fell back to Mati and Tyrnovo. The Turks, pressing forward, bombarded the heights of Kritiri; and at Mati, on April 21-23, entered upon a general engagement, as the result of which they were able to drive the Greeks in panic-stricken flight from Tyrnovo to Larissa. In this stampede, due largely to wild imaginings and fear on the part of the Greeks, hundreds of lives were lost, men being shot down in indiscriminate firing or trampled to death under wagons, ammunition-carts, and

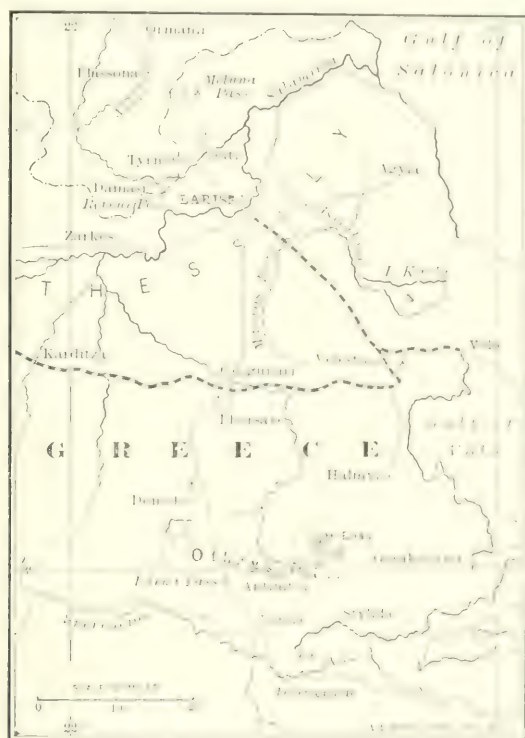


FIG. 118. - Map of the Greco-Turkish War.

guns. From this moment the cause of the Greeks was hopeless. On the 24th the Turks entered Tyrnovo, and with the occupation on the 25th of Larissa, which the Greeks deserted for Volos, they came into possession of Northern Thessaly and were ready to advance southward. On the 30th Mahmud Pasha suffered a reverse at Veleshtino; but an action at Pharsala on May 4, followed by a second engagement at Veleshtino, prepared the way for the occupation of Volos, which took place on the 8th, and gave Central Thessaly into the hands of the Turks. The

Greeks were now disorganized and dispirited and divided by discord and jealousy. The battle of Domoko on May 17 gave to the Turks the command of all Thessaly and brought the war to an end.

In the meantime a crisis had taken place at Athens, and Delyannis had been dismissed. His ministry had not only brought the country into war, but it had done so with shameful neglect of the preparations necessary for the successful prosecution of a campaign. King George had commissioned Raillis, the leader of the opposition and deputy for Attica, to form a new government, which he had done on April 27. This change had occurred none too soon, for the republican element was already aiming at insurrection and was arousing anti-dynastic feelings within the city. At this juncture Greece sought the intervention of the powers; and after long delay, during which the battle of Domoko was fought, Turkey consented to an armistice and allowed negotiations for peace to begin. These negotiations were long and tedious, lasting well into the summer; for Turkey demanded the cession of all Thessaly, an indemnity of T£. 10,000,000, and a revision of the privileges of Greeks in the Ottoman empire; and the powers refused to allow more than a rectification of the Thessalian frontier and an indemnity of T£. 3,000,000. Throughout the discussion the animosity of William II. toward Greece and his unmistakable devotion to the interests of the sultan were unpleasantly evident. But the powers found their greatest difficulty in settling the question of how a state already bankrupt was to pay any indemnity at all, and finally arranged the matter by appointing at the instance of Germany an international commission of six members to control the revenues placed at the service of the debt. This solution of the problem, which Greece had indignantly refused to accept in 1893, placed the government in the same class with Turkey herself; and so vigorously did Raillis oppose this arrangement that he was unwilling to accept even the treaty itself, and, being defeated in the Chamber, resigned. His place was taken by Zaimis, president of the Chamber, upon whom fell the heavy burden of carrying out the financial arrangements. During November, 1897, the peace conference continued its sittings, and finally on December 4 the definitive treaty was signed. According to its terms Greece was compelled to submit to a rectification of her Thessalian frontier and to pay £4,000,000 indemnity under an international committee of control.

After the war, Greece withdrew from Balkan affairs and tried to accommodate herself to the new situation and to recover from the unfortunate and ill-advised war. An inevitable bitterness of feeling and personal recrimination accompanied all attempts to explain defeat.

The crown prince was harshly and hastily charged with cowardly and the ill-will against the royal family found expression in an attempt on the life of King George, February 26, 1898. By May 31, the boundary commission had completed its work; and by June, Thessaly was practically freed from Turkish troops. A new ministry under Theotokis succeeded that of Zaimis, which resigned on April 12, 1899, and new legislation was set on foot. The army changes adopted in March, 1900, placed the reorganization in the hands of foreign officers; and in October, Crown Prince Constantine assumed sole charge of the army, thus freeing the military system from the manipulation of politicians. In 1901 a commercial treaty was arranged with Roumania, and in April of the same year a final settlement was reached with Turkey on the question of the capitulations which Greece had possessed before the war. By this compromise the privileges which Greece had enjoyed were considerably curtailed, but the relations with Turkey continued to be good, and a convention was held in the summer, which regulated in an amicable manner the commerce between the two countries.

Regarding the annexation of Crete, the Greek government pursued a perfectly correct diplomatic attitude. The request of the powers that Prince George retain his commissionership, and the latter's consent in July to do so, marked a postponement of the annexation question and the maintenance of the *status quo*, thus relieving Greece of an embarrassing situation. In November, 1901, a proposed translation of the Scriptures into modern Greek was regarded as a scheme of Pan-Slavism to diminish the traditional authority of the Greek Church and resulted in a serious outbreak in which a number of persons were killed and wounded. The premier narrowly escaped assassination, and as a result of the excitement a new ministry under Zaimis came in, notwithstanding the protests against its appointment on the ground that it did not represent the majority of the electors. The Parliamentary session of 1902 accomplished almost nothing because of the obstruction of the opposition under Delyannis, who obtained a majority at the general elections in December, and was appointed premier. Throughout 1902 there was much trouble in Thessaly and the western Morea from brigandage, which had been practically extinct in the country for many years. Early in 1903 Theotokis became premier, but in July he was succeeded by Raillis. The attitude of the government was quite hostile to the Macedonian insurrection, and it was declared that Greece had with Turkey "a common enemy." As the financial situation became constantly more serious, and there was urgent need of army reform, Theotokis was in December again called upon to form a ministry, which held office for one year.

For twelve years Joan Bratiano, the Liberal leader of Rumania, had guided the affairs of that kingdom, had raised it from a tributary principality to a sovereign state, and had transformed sectional rivalries into national enthusiasm. But the dictatorial methods that had made possible these results roused violent opposition to himself, and he was overthrown in 1889 by a combination of seceding Liberals and Young Conservatives or Junimists, a group that had sprung from a literary society founded in 1867 for the cultivation of German ideas. Rosetti, of this group, who became premier, discarding German influence, turned to Russia. The Conservatives, the old group under Catargi or the Junimists under Rosetti and Carp, in various combinations, remained in power for six years, and during this time important measures were taken to strengthen the unity and increase the prestige of the state. A protectionist policy of allowing all commercial treaties to expire was adopted, and in 1890 a gold monetary standard was established. In the same year an important agrarian reform was projected, whereby land allotments out of the state domains were made for the benefit of the peasants, whose insurrection in 1888 had been a serious event in Rumania's history. Propositions were made regarding the establishment of agricultural credits and schools; and in 1892 party conflict, which had hitherto stood in the way of normal national growth, was checked, and a better chance was given for the promotion of peaceful and beneficial legislation.

The fact that the kingdom contained but a part of the whole Walachian and Ruman stock gave rise to the same question that was prevalent in Italy, Greece, and other states—of an unredeemed Rumania. Rumanians were scattered all through the Balkan peninsula, and great numbers—estimated as high as 3,000,000—were in Transleithania under Magyar rule. In consequence a party was formed to agitate for the annexation of these territories, and succeeded in producing a state of unrest in Macedonia and Transylvania, where the Magyarizing tendencies of the Hungarians were maddening to the Rumanians at home. This Pan-Rumanian movement gained an added impetus in 1893, when a special journal was established at Bucharest for the single purpose of keeping the subject alive; and so widespread did this Irredentist agitation become that in 1895 the government took the matter in hand, seized all revolutionists who had arms in their possession, and expelled Bulgarians and Russian emissaries who were endeavoring to arouse the Rumanians to aid their fellows in Macedonia. The dynastic strength of the state was increased in 1892, when Prince Ferdinand married Marie, the daughter of the Duke of Edinburgh, thus linking the Rumanian

and British houses more closely together; and the birth of a son, October 15, 1893, gave cause for rejoicing in Rumania and strengthened the dynasty at home. The hostile feeling of the Orthodox clergy for King Charles and his successor, both of whom were Roman Catholics, was happily lessened when the young prince was duly baptized into the Greek Church.

In 1895 the Liberal party returned to power. Brătianu was dead, and Demeter Sturdza (Fig. 119), his former colleague and an upholder of the philo-German policy, was the acknowledged leader and the premier. So complete was the control of the elections by the party in power that when in December the polling took place, the Conservatives were nearly wiped out of existence, gaining but two seats in the House and but three in the Senate. The victory of the Liberals seemed to indicate a return on the part of the government to closer relations with Germany and the triple alliance, a supposition which was borne out by the visit of King Charles to Emperor Francis Joseph in 1895 and the return visit of the emperor to Bucharest in 1896. The only blot on this friendship was the bitter feeling existing between Hungary and Rumania because of the Pan-Rumanian difficulty. In December, 1896, a ministerial crisis was brought about by the deposition of the Rumanian Metropolitan



FIG. 119. Demeter Sturdza.

by the Holy Synod, an act which the people, who believed the charges against the metropolitan to be fictitious, ascribed to governmental pressure. Sturdza resigned and was followed by Aurelian with another Liberal cabinet. But as Aurelian proved too weak to control the Liberal forces, Sturdza returned to power in 1897, only to be confronted by a Chamber that had become thoroughly exasperated because of the persecution that the Rumanians in Transylvania had undergone at the hands of the Hungarians. Sturdza was charged with having entered into an understanding with the Hungarian ministers to suppress the Pan-Rumanian movement; and unable to act because of persistent obstruction in the Chamber, and fearing an uprising of the people in the streets, he resigned on April 9, 1899. His ministry was replaced by

one under the Old Conservative leader, Cantacuzene (the successor of Catargi), who immediately dissolved the chambers. The elections of June, 1899, while a tremendous victory for the Conservatives, disclosed more strikingly than ever the fact that the Conservatives were divided into two parties: the Old Conservatives, a boyar and pro-Russian party, under Cantacuzene, and the Junimists, more democratic and national, under Carp. It disclosed also the fact that the Liberals were divided into two parties likewise: the Liberals, strongly German, under Sturdza, and the Drapelists, more radical, under Aurelian.

The Conservative party was disturbed during its rule of two years by uprisings among the peasantry, serious enough to demand the interference of government troops (November, 1900); by a quarrel with Bulgaria over the maltreatment of Rumanian residents in Bulgaria by the Macedonian revolutionary committee, which culminated in the assassination of Karadjoff, a Rumanian resident in Sofia (August-September, 1900); by a growing socialistic organization and a small anti-Semitic agitation, neither of which, however, had become serious. It was a financial question that led eventually to the downfall of the ministry. A reconciliation between the orthodox Conservatives and the dissenting group, the Junimists, and the organization of a fusion cabinet had in July, 1900, brought Carp into the ministry. Some of the dispossessed ministers, however, notably Jonesco, former minister of finance and the real leader of the majority, worked against Premier Carp, so that when at the end of February, 1901, the latter announced that the ministry and the finance committee had been unable to agree, the Chamber after a stormy session rejected by 75 votes to 74 a vote of confidence in the financial policy of the government. Carp then resigned and the king summoned Sturdza to form a new cabinet. This Sturdza accomplished on March 1, inviting Aurelian to take the portfolio of the interior. The budget submitted in April proved very satisfactory. Although it showed a marked decrease in estimated receipts, it obtained an equilibrium by cutting down the expenses by 25,000,000 francs, including at the king's request a heavy scaling of the civil list and increasing the existing duties by about 6,000,000. No new taxes were imposed. The Chamber showed its satisfaction with this result and voted the address to the king. The king, in reply, expressed his satisfaction that the Chamber had resolved to adopt a system of rigorous economy in all branches of the administration and to put an end to the extravagances which had imperilled the economic independence of Rumania, as precious to all as was her political independence. To avoid further foreign loans Sturdza presented to the Chamber, after its reassembling on June 27, a con-

vention with the national bank for an advance, without interest, of 15,000,000 francs, to be paid in thirty years. In return the government promised to extend the privileges of the bank till 1930 and granted under certain conditions a reduction of its metallic reserve from 40 to 33 per cent. This measure aroused excited opposition, particularly from Carp and the Junimists.

Within the Balkan peninsula, as evidenced by the interview at Abbazia, in May, 1901, between King Charles and King George of Greece, Rumania was on terms of cordial friendship with Greece; while without she was doing all she could to strengthen the understanding with Austria and the triple alliance. In June King Charles received von Beck, chief of staff of the Austro-Hungarian army, at his chateau in Sinaia, and spoke of the fraternal sympathies existing between the two states. Indeed, the government abandoned the cause of the Rumanians in Transylvania, just as it had already on the ground of economy given up the Rumanian educational and religious propaganda in Macedonia, Epirus, and Albania. During the Macedonian insurrection in 1903 Rumania's policy was in strict accord with that of Austria-Hungary and Russia. On the difficult question of the abolition of the disabilities against the Jews the king would willingly have carried out the provisions of the Congress of Berlin, but public opinion was violently opposed. As a consequence the disabilities continued, the Jews, who number 4 per cent. of the entire population, being denied rights of Rumanian citizens. Naturalization for the race had been made so difficult that in the twenty-four years from 1878 to 1902 less than one hundred Jews became naturalized, notwithstanding the fact that they paid the same taxes and performed the same military service as the rest of the population. In 1902 and 1903 large numbers emigrated to the United States, but because of insufficient means many were forced to return.

By 1904 Rumania was firmly established as an independent state. At peace with all her neighbors since the settlement of the trouble with Bulgaria, commanding an influential place in Europe, increasing in wealth through excellent commercial treaties and the exercise of economy in her financial policy, with a strong army, an excellent railway system, peasant proprietorship, and a peasantry better contented than it had been for years, an increasing interest in common schools, a growing population, Rumania was rapidly becoming the strongest state in the southeast.

The political revolution which took place in Servia in 1888 and 1889, when the Radical party revised the constitution so as to reduce the power of the king to a nullity, had meant victory for the Russian party in the state. The Radicals, representing the sentiments of the

majority of the Servian people, leaned toward Russia; the Progressists or Conservatives, including the official and capitalist classes, were in sympathy with Austria; while the Pan Slavists wished for a Greater Serbia to include Bosnia and parts of Macedonia, under Russian auspices. To the last of these parties Queen Natalie herself belonged, and the relations existing between King Milan, who was Austrian in sympathy, and the Radicals, were more than ever strained by the quarrel between the king and the queen, arising not only from differences regarding policies, but also from incompatibility of temper. In 1888 the king prevailed upon the synod of the Servian church to grant a divorce, and then in March, 1889, two months after the new constitu-



FIG. 120.—Alexander I., King of Serbia.

tion had been adopted, he himself abdicated in favor of his son, the thirteen-year-old Prince Alexander (Fig. 120).

This withdrawal of King Milan from the throne and his promise to live henceforth out of Servia was a distinct gain for that kingdom. Under the regency, the administration was largely transformed, bureaucratic methods were abolished, parliamentary government was introduced, and Russian influence was once more admitted into the land. Family quarrels were, however, still badly mixed up with politics. Queen Natalie sought to return in 1891, but was banished. In 1892 differences began to appear in the Radical party itself, between the members of the Skuptchina on one side and the ministers and the regency on the other.

The Radical Club charged the government with weakness in yielding to Austria's demand to expel Bulgarian agitators, and with severity in limiting freedom of the press. This disagreement, coupled with financial difficulties and evidences of corrupt administration, undermined the position of the premier, Pachitch, who resigned in August, 1892. Taking advantage of these dissensions among the Radicals, young Prince Alexander, acting with the advice of his father, arrested the regents whom he had invited to dine with him, took the kingly power into his own hands, and appointed his tutor, Dr. Dakitch, as premier. The Skuptehina was immediately dissolved, and writs were issued for a new election. This *coup d'état* was followed by another the next year. Alexander had already summoned his father back to Belgrade—a reconciliation having taken place between Milan and Natalie in 1893—and restored to him the honors of a reigning king. On May 21 Alexander suspended the constitution of 1888 and re-established that of January 11, 1869, a change that seriously restricted the suffrage and brought about a complete break with the Radicals. A ministry under Christitch, a Liberal, was created and a strictly autocratic régime was inaugurated. Rigorous press laws were enforced and Radical leaders condemned for high treason. In 1896 the Radicals, gathering themselves together after this blow, began an agitation for a revision of the constitution, declaring that the *coup d'état* had injured Serbia internally and externally, and had led to an estrangement with Austria, as the warfare which took place in 1895 and 1896 over the admission of Servian swine into Austria-Hungary testified. This agitation on the part of the Radicals led to the overthrow of the ministry in 1897 and the creation of a new cabinet under Simitch, a Moderate Liberal. But this cabinet, too, resigned in October, to be replaced by one under Georgevitch. The two burning questions that had brought about these ministerial crises were the revision of the constitution and the return of ex-King Milan, who, though obliged by the terms of his abdication to live abroad, returned in 1897, and in January, 1898, was appointed commander-in-chief of the Servian army. Though many attempts were made to revise the constitution, nothing was actually done, and the provisional régime continued, becoming, after the return of the ex-king, more autocratic than before.

This change in the policy of the Servian government was brought about largely by an attempt that was made in 1899 to assassinate ex-King Milan. Measures so severe followed this attempt as to call out the comment that Milan was taking the opportunity to avenge himself on all his political enemies: for, assuming that a large conspiracy on the part of Radicals and pro-Russians had been unearthed, he effected the

indictment of nearly fifty persons, and the trial ended in the conviction of twenty-two of the accused, two of whom were sentenced to death, ten to twenty years' imprisonment, and five to five years' imprisonment. This verdict was universally condemned, and only served to bring the Obrenovitch dynasty and the Servian government into still greater disrepute in Europe. The state seemed to have become merely an instrument to serve the pleasure of a single man.

The young king, however, soon reasserted himself, breaking away from the tutelage of his father. In a proclamation of July 21, 1900, he announced to his people that he was to marry Mme. Draga Machin, formerly one of the ladies-in-waiting to Queen Natalie. His marriage on August 5 was not merely an act of sentiment, but a declaration of policy also. It marked a turning away from the influence of King Milan and Austria-Hungary, and the determination to pursue a course, independent in the main, but leaning, if at all, upon Russia. King Milan immediately resigned his post as commander-in-chief of the army, and friendly relations between father and son were broken off; a new cabinet was constituted under Jovanovitch from members of the Radical and Progressist parties, and a dual policy of reconciliation and repression was adopted. On one hand, all those connected with the conspiracy of the previous year were freed, and exiles were invited to return to Servia; on the other, editors and ex-ministers found guilty of *lèse majesté* were tried and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. The death of King Milan in Vienna on February 11, 1901, removed an obstacle from the path of Servia's progress, for in spite of intellectual gifts in some ways remarkable he was a headstrong and selfish monarch who had sought at all times to divide parties so that he might play the despot.

Premier Jovanovitch retired in April and the cabinet was reorganized by Dr. Novitch in the interests of the Radicals, who, after years of persecution by King Milan, now came to the front. They stood for the national unity of Servia, and in friendly relations with their Balkan neighbors as well as with the powers abroad, hoped to become an exponent of order and progress in Europe. After many conferences between the king and the representatives of the different parties the new constitution was completed and promulgated April 21, 1901. It was in the main modelled after the suspended constitution of 1888, but differed from it in two important particulars: one relating to the succession to the throne, the other providing for two chambers, a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. The new constitution was received by the people with acclamation, and after twenty years of political chaos Servia seemed to have reached a condition approximating order and constitutional unity.

Deceived hopes regarding the birth of an heir gave rise to sensational rumors in May concerning the succession, but no complications ensued and the elections of August showed that the people were inclined to uphold the king and his policy. A visit of the royal pair to St. Petersburg was repeatedly postponed by the czar, owing, it was said, to the unwillingness of the czarina to receive Queen Draga. Throughout 1902 the king and queen became more and more unpopular. In the autumn a new ministry was appointed with General Markovitch at its head and three other officers as members, which was regarded as an attempt on the king's part to establish a régime of force. Finding that the Radicals were not supporting him as he had hoped they would, the king in April, 1903, arbitrarily suspended the constitution while he revoked the Radical legislation of the past two years. The laws giving freedom to the press and the use of the ballot at elections were abolished, and Radical judges, senators, and councillors summarily dismissed. This arrogant act increased the hostility of the people, while the army was becoming greatly disaffected because of a growing belief that the queen's brother was to be proposed to the new Skuptchina as heir apparent. The culmination came in the terrible tragedy of the night of June 11, 1903, when the king, the queen, her brother, the prime minister, Markovitch, and the minister of war were murdered after the refusal of the king to abdicate. The Servian press generally approved of the crime, and a new ministry was at once formed under Avakumovitch, the constitution of 1888 put into force, and Prince Peter Karageorgievitch elected king. A general election in September resulted in a Radical victory, returning 67 extreme Radicals, 80 moderate Radicals, 14 Liberals, and 1 Socialist, and a new cabinet was organized under General Gruitch.

Several of the powers practically ceased diplomatic relations with Servia because the regicides were not punished, and in Servia itself there was much discontent that these men should so nearly control the new government. But the king had accepted his throne from them, and he was probably unable as well as unwilling to punish those to whom he owed everything. Under such circumstances his position was naturally most unenviable, but he managed to maintain his authority, and on September 21, 1904, was crowned King of Servia at an impressive service in the cathedral of Belgrade.

In Bulgaria, on the other hand, the election of Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg (Fig. 121) brought to the principality a man of force and determination, who, despite the will of Russia, was able to hold his place

for seven years. With his first minister, Stambouloff, he fought conspiracy and intrigue and endless Russian machinations. The morganatic marriage of Alexander of Battenberg (February 6, 1889) strengthened Russia's hand, for it guaranteed the permanent withdrawal of that prince from all claims to the throne. While Stambouloff on one hand was suppressing Russophile movements by decrees, threats, force, and counterplots, he was on the other urging the Porte to recognize Prince Ferdinand as the legitimate head of Bulgaria. In this policy he was upheld by England and Austria, but strenuously opposed by Russia, the latter of whom worked through Bulgarian Russophile refugees in Servia, through the Russophile party in Bulgaria itself, and through the sultan. Stam-



FIG. 121.—Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria.

bouloff fought Russia by all means fair and foul. In 1890 Major Panitzza, a distinguished officer of the army and a friend to Prince Alexander, but an enemy of the Stambouloff administration, was charged with conspiracy to kidnap and possibly to assassinate Prince Ferdinand and his ministers. The final sentence under which Panitzza was executed, June 15, 1890, was deemed unnecessarily harsh, inasmuch as conclusive proof of his deeper guilt had been wanting, and little more was shown than that he was an unscrupulous officer of disappointed ambitions, the tool of more unscrupulous associates. The hatred that Stambouloff (Fig. 122) aroused by this and other dictatorial and unconstitutional actions found expression in an attempt to assassinate him in 1891, when he

walked on the street with his minister of finance, Belcheff. The latter was killed, though Stambouloff was undoubtedly the intended victim. It has been said that his mind was unbalanced by this catastrophe; but however that may have been, certain is it that from this time his hatred of Russia and all Russophiles was increased, and he lost no opportunity of displaying it. Even the prince and his cabinet resented his arbitrary methods, and so strong was his will that it was difficult for ministers to hold their places under him.

In 1893 the Sobranje amended the constitution in such a way as to allow an elected prince, if he were of other than the Greek faith, to retain the religion he had at the time of his election, and to permit the son, but not other successors, to follow the faith of the father. This act, which was forced through the assembly by Stambouloff, brought a sharp reprimand from Russia; for it showed that Ferdinand, whether Russia liked it or not, was determined to found a dynasty in Bulgaria. On April 20, 1893, he married Marie of Parma (died 1899), and the birth of an heir the January following brought him one step nearer the realization of his wish. The Sobranje further amended the constitution by extending the duration of its sitting from three to five years,



FIG. 122.—Stambouloff

by reducing its numbers from 320 to 110, and by changing the proportion of representation; and all of these changes were unanimously adopted. When in July, 1893, the Metropolitan, Clement, was exiled for inciting people against the prince and his government, it seemed that prince and minister were working in harmony and that Stambouloff's position had never been stronger.

But in 1894 the break came. On May 29, after a cabinet quarrel, Ferdinand accepted his minister's resignation, an unexpected act, but one not difficult to understand. Unwillingness to follow Stambouloff's lead any longer, dissatisfaction that his minister should not have obtained his recognition by the powers, the birth of a son which assured him a

successor, and the more considerate policy that Russia seemed disposed to adopt—all these things influenced Ferdinand to take the government into his own hands and make a complete *volte face* in his policy. Overtures were at once made to Russia, and a coalition cabinet of Conservatives and Radicals was appointed under Stoiloff (Fig. 123). An amnesty



FIG. 123.—Stoiloff.

was proclaimed and Russophiles were allowed to return to Bulgaria. In January, 1895, Zankoff himself came back. As an earnest of his intentions, Ferdinand had his son, Prince Boris, rebaptized into the Orthodox church on February 14, 1896. The czar, in the person of General Kutusoff, stood as sponsor for the child, and, by thus indirectly giving his sanction to the perpetuation of Ferdinand's rule in the principality, removed the last obstacle to the recognition of the prince by the powers. The consent of all the signatories of the treaty of Berlin was received by the Porte, so that when Ferdinand visited Constantinople in

April, 1896, he received formal investiture and was constituted Prince of Bulgaria and governor of Eastern Roumelia, thus gaining not only Turkey's acceptance of himself as prince, but also the tacit if not the official recognition of the union of the two states. Shortly afterward he visited St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Paris, and in August, 1897, at the request of the sultan, made another visit to Constantinople, where the relations appeared to be of the most amicable character.

Stambouloff's work would almost seem to have been undone, for the great minister was assassinated in 1895; and the fact that the government made little effort to bring his murderers to justice showed how complete had been the break between him and his prince. The National Liberals, of whom Stambouloff had been the leader, though at first hostile, soon quieted down and accepted Grecoff as their chief, on a programme of defence of the dynasty, independence of the country, and a progressive administration. The policy of the government was favorable to steady internal improvement, but a difficulty in a matter of railways led to the withdrawal of Stoiloff in 1899. The premiership was entrusted to Grecoff, who formed a coalition cabinet of National Liberals and Conservatives and promised peace and order at home and a pacific policy abroad. But Grecoff, unable to work with the prince, who seemed determined to be personal ruler in his principality, resigned in

October, 1899, under protest, and a recognized ministry was created under Ivantchoff. The immediate difficulty was the unwillingness of the ministry to continue railway expenditures in the face of serious financial embarrassment.

Crises in the Bulgarian ministry continued with ominous regularity. Ivantchoff having resigned in December, 1900, Prince Ferdinand summoned Radoslavoff to form a ministry; but Radoslavoff was unsuccessful, and Ivantchoff returned to power, December 14, with a reorganized cabinet. In February, 1901, Ivantchoff's cabinet was again reorganized, Ivantchoff retiring and General Petroff taking his place, in order to supervise the new elections to the Sobranje, which had been dissolved the December before. When the elections were over, Petroff retired and a new ministry representing the party of the Progressists was organized under Karaveloff in March, 1901. A year later he too resigned, being unable to maintain a majority after an adverse vote on the question of a much-needed loan to relieve the embarrassed condition of the finances. A Russophile ministry with Daneff as leader succeeded, but before the end of 1902 damaging disclosures implicating members of the cabinet in the former plots against the Stambouloff government led to its resignation. Daneff, however, took office again, but in May, 1903, he too was forced to retire because of the unpopularity of his pro-Russian policy. General Petroff, a strong opponent of Russian influence, was called on to form a new cabinet, and in the ensuing elections his party obtained a large majority because of the disclosures that Daneff had made the most servile concessions to Russia, agreeing to lease Varna and Burgas to her and to accept a Russian general as minister of war. These frequent cabinet changes were at first largely due to the increasingly domineering attitude of the prince, but later they turned upon more vital issues. The financial situation demanded the adoption of unpopular measures curtailing the expenses of the government, and increasing the taxes notwithstanding the prevailing distress, which in 1900 had led to disturbances among the peasants and the necessity of establishing a state of siege in the districts of Varna, Shumla, Tirnovo, Rasgrad, Rustchuk, and Ristovatz. The arrogant policy of Russia, and the agitations of the Irridentists and their participation in the Macedonian insurrections caused grave anxiety to the National party. Indeed the relations of the Bulgarians to their oppressed brethren in Macedonia became more and more difficult during the first years of the new century.

A misunderstanding with Rumania arising out of the murder in Bucharest of Professor Michailcano, founder of the *Balkan Peninsula*, journal of the Rumanian propagandists in Turkey, and Karadjoff, a Rumanian, in Sofia, betrayed the extent of the Bulgarian Irridentist

movement, whose centre was the Macedonian committee established in Sofia with the avowed purpose of extending by peaceful means or otherwise Bulgaria's influence into Macedonia, the promised land of the Balkans. Although the difficulty with Rumania was amicably settled, the existence of the Macedonian committees became so great and constant a source of irritation between Bulgaria and Turkey that the powers informed the Bulgarian government that every means possible must be employed to check the agitation in Macedonia caused by the work of the committees. In March, 1901, the Turkish government again called the attention of the Bulgarian authorities to the work these Irredentist committees were doing in organizing bands upon the Bulgarian frontier, and as a consequence the Karaveloff government arrested all the leaders of the central Macedonian committee and closed the headquarters of all local committees. It refused, however, to abolish the committee entirely, allowing it to be reconstituted at the end of April under the leaders of the moderate Macedonian party. The Radical wing, led by Sarafoff, whom the government had arrested, had desired to organize the Macedonians for an uprising against Turkey to secure their independence; the Moderates, who came into power at the end of April under Michailowski, promised to employ strictly legal means to obtain the execution of all the clauses of the treaty of Berlin, and to effect, if possible, a revision of that treaty. The sympathy in Bulgaria for the Macedonians was naturally very strong. Nearly one-half of the population of Sofia itself was Macedonian, while they made up about one-third of the officers of the Bulgarian army. The agitations of the Extremists, therefore, continued despite the arrest of the leaders. Finally a note from the Porte to Bulgaria giving warning that unless the revolutionary agitation and filibustering were stopped Turkey would have to act, made the government realize the gravity of the situation, and the troops on the frontier were increased to prevent the insurgent bands from crossing. But in July and September the Bulgarian government laid the cause of the Macedonians before the powers, drawing attention to the intolerable situation on her frontier and the terrible conditions in the disturbed districts.

The first years of the twentieth century, therefore, found Ferdinand securely established on the throne, though beset by many difficulties. In foreign relations the reconciliation with Russia had been completed, but the overweening arrogance of the Russian party in 1903 led to a strong reaction against that power. With Turkey relations were at times strained to the breaking point, though in 1904 the difficulties were, for the time being at least, adjusted, and the dangers arising out of the Macedonian situation greatly lessened by the inauguration of the Austro-Russian reforms.

Since its reconstruction by the European powers in the congress of Berlin, the principality of Montenegro had had a quiet and uneventful political history. Prince Nicholas (Fig. 124), though in every way an autocrat, showed himself an enlightened sovereign, willing to adapt himself to the patriarchal and military organization of his state. In 1896 he introduced the common-school system and substituted a standing army for the old militia, inviting Russian officers to take charge of his military reforms. Externally the relations with Russia had been of the closest character, and two of the daughters of the prince had married



FIG. 124.—Prince Nicholas of Montenegro.

into the Russian imperial family. With Servia, Bulgaria, and Turkey, intercourse was amicable, since Montenegro had few claims to the "promised land" of Macedonia and little part in the rivalries of the various nationalities there. With Austria, relations were somewhat strained. Montenegro was almost surrounded by Austrian authority and influence. An Austrian governor had control of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Austrian troops were stationed in the sanjak of Novi-bazar, Austrian officials were in charge of the coast to Cattaro and Spica, and Austrian influence was strong in the valleys leading to Salonica on the Aegean. Outwardly, however, the two powers remained

friendly, and the importance of Montenegro as a European state steadily increased. In 1896 the Petrovitch house, of which Nicholas was the seventh prince, was allied with the royal house of Italy by the marriage of Helena of Montenegro with the Crown Prince of Italy, who in 1900 became Victor Emmanuel III. On December 19, 1900, as a fitting termination to the century, the president of the Montenegrin council of state presented an address to the prince, praying him, in token of the gratitude which the Montenegrins felt for their ruler, to take the title of Royal Highness.

A more significant aspect of Montenegro's history was the economic development of the principality. In 1880 Montenegro was among the most backward states of Europe. It had no commerce, industry, post-offices, telegraphs, or means of communication other than the primitive roads, which, while they made the land easy of defence, hindered civilization and progress. Since 1880, however, largely through the initiative and courage of Prince Nicholas, important changes had been effected, which were not only of immediate benefit, but also of great promise for the future. A fine road, excellently constructed, connected the capital, Cetinje, with the Bocche di Cattaro on one side, and Scutari on the other, extending to Podgoritzta and Niksic in the north, and westward to connect the interior with Risano on the Adriatic. Another road was run from the Lake of Scutari to Antivari on the coast. Telegraph lines radiated from the capital to all the important points in the surrounding territory. Postal conventions were arranged with Italy, Servia, Austria, and in 1901 with France. Bridges were constructed or restored; the municipalities reorganized, whereby each community elected a municipal council and was given the right to devote the local revenues to local needs; a budget introduced, and projects for the utilization of the natural resources of the country set on foot. Young Montenegrins were sent to France, Servia, and Russia, to be trained in scientific schools for the benefit of Montenegro, and outside capital had been called upon to aid in opening up the country. While the climate was not favorable to versatile industries, and the poverty of the land was a great drawback to its rapid advancement, yet the forests and iron-mines under proper management and backed by sufficient capital were capable of being developed and increasing materially the wealth of the little state.



CHAPTER X.

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE: IN AUSTRALASIA AND AFRICA.

AFTER the war of 1870 had brought to a settlement the most serious of all the questions troubling the European powers and had led to the establishment in Europe of a series of well-compacted, consolidated national states, it was inevitable that, as communication became easier and trade and commerce took the place of the older agrarian activity, a larger world policy should supplant the strictly national policy that had hitherto prevailed. As in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, so in the nineteenth and twentieth, a period of colonial expansion followed one of national development and unity. England had taken the lead in the older days and had been the only one of the original maritime states to build up a national empire out of the territories which for two hundred and fifty years she had been gradually acquiring. Portugal, Spain, and Holland, who alone had kept into the nineteenth century portions of their original colonies, had not maintained their leadership or organized their colonies in such a way as to become examples to other people. Only Great Britain, in these later days as in the earlier, had become a great colonial and naval power, and, with her colonial possessions, Canada and the West Indies, Australia and New Zealand, India, Guinea, Guiana, the Cape, and the islands of the West Pacific, had created a world empire. But the policy of imperial federation was very late in developing, and it was not until Great Britain had got rid of her older colonial notions, and the growth of self-government had made necessary the abolition of the idea that colonies existed only for the good of the mother country, that a true imperial organization, in a sense higher than that held by old Rome, was created. In 1825 and 1826 she repealed her navigation laws, but even then she deemed her colonies a source rather of weakness than of strength, and in the middle of the century would have been willing to let them all sever their connection with the mother country, had they so desired. After 1870, however, a different view prevailed, and the idea of a Greater Britain began to possess men's minds; although even then the belief that additional colonial territory was desirable was very slow in commending itself, and did not take real

form till after 1884, when the Imperial Federation League was established.

Of all the British colonial groups the most important was Australasia, the official name given to Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand. Here had been tried experiments in self-government; and these colonies with their free, secular, and compulsory education, their freedom from a state religion, their virtual manhood suffrage, and payment of Parliamentary members, had become more democratic than the mother country itself. Having excluded the Chinese except in the northern territories, and being little troubled with internal race questions, these colonies had chiefly concerned themselves with problems of a political, social, and industrial nature. In them the working classes formed important political minorities, and among the various parties all shades of collectivism, communism, and anarchism were to be found. To the political leaders of the Old World, "Australianism" was becoming a more intense form of "Americanism," which the German *Kreuz Zeitung*, with its feudal instincts and love for the traditions of the past, characterized as "the encroachment of capitalism on politics and a contempt for historically established international and treaty law." Among the colonies, Victoria and New South Wales had taken the lead, and possessed railways, telegraphs, and public departments under non-political management, public works mainly in government hands, an efficient civil service, and a financial reputation of the very best character. In the main, the principle of "one man, one vote," had been applied in most of the colonies. Women had been admitted to the full franchise in New Zealand in 1893, and in South Australia, where they possessed the right not only to vote, but to sit in Parliament also, in 1895. The participation of women in elections was shown to be favorable to popular government, and, contrary to general expectation, unfavorable to legislative manipulation of temperance, religion, and anti-alcoholism. Queensland was inclined to be a separatist colony, and particularly in the northern part was influenced by a strong nationalistic feeling. Tasmania, more backward, but destined to have a brilliant future, had shown herself in later years ambitious and progressive; while Western Australia, more sparsely settled, had remained a crown colony until 1890, when the English government granted to it a constitution and an independent government.

Among these colonies the most important movement was to be in the direction of intercolonial federation. At Sydney, the capital of New South Wales, the oldest of the Australasian colonies, a conference had

been held in 1883 and 1884, and in consequence of its recommendations the British Parliament passed the federal council bill, allowing the formation in 1885 of the Federal Council of Australasia, a purely deliberative body, having power to consider certain specifically stated matters. All the colonies at once joined the league, except New Zealand, South Australia, and New South Wales, each of which was to come in, however, before 1890. But in the latter year, under the leadership of Sir Henry Parkes (Fig. 125), premier of New South Wales, who declared that seven years of experience had shown the need of a stronger union, a scheme for a closer federation was advocated. In that year representatives of the colonies met at Melbourne to consider confedera-

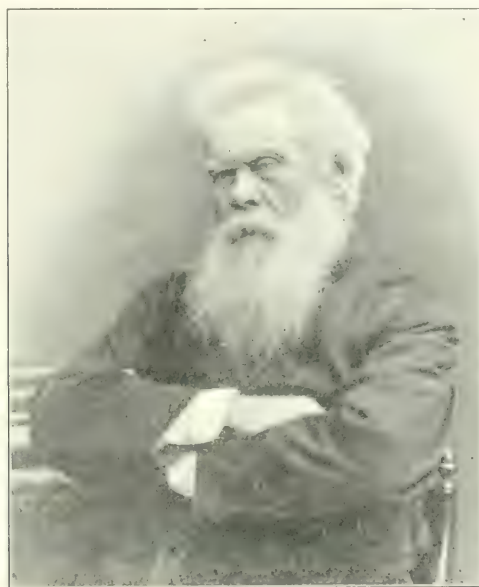


FIG. 125.—Sir Henry Parkes. (From a photograph by Elliott & Fry, London, England.)

tion and national defence; and at a national Australian convention held at Sydney in 1891, a constitution was drafted, modelled after that of the United States, for a federal union, whose title should be the Commonwealth of Australia. But progress was slow: while Victoria and New South Wales supported federation, Queensland and Western Australia opposed it, and the pressure from without, which in the case of other federal unions had compelled unity, did not exist. In 1893 the Australian Federation League was organized, and urged that the federal constitution be adopted by popular vote instead of by the respective Parliaments. Thereupon the premiers of all the colonies save Queens-

land met in conference at Hobart in Tasmania, and framed a measure known as the federal enabling act, which was to be passed by the various Parliaments, preliminary to the drafting of a new constitution. This measure, having been adopted by all the states except Queensland in 1896, the representatives of the five other colonies met in a constitutional convention at Adelaide on March 22, 1897, and drafted a federal constitution, which was adopted by popular vote in Victoria, Tasmania, and South Australia.

But the objections to the instrument were so many and rendered final acceptance by all the colonies so hopeless that in 1898 the delegates, augmented by those from Queensland, reconsidered the constitution and amended it in important particulars. The amended draft was submitted to popular vote in the summer of 1898, and, after heated campaigns in some of the colonies, was accepted by three out of the seven: New South Wales not giving the required majority, Queensland and Western Australia rejecting the constitution entirely, New Zealand, 1200 miles away, not coming in at all. New South Wales, however, in a second referendum the next year, accepted the constitution, and Queensland came into line in October, 1899. This constitution, the outcome of ten years' consideration on the part of the ablest of Australian politicians, and twice submitted in its main features to the Australian people for acceptance or rejection, was then sent to England for passage as the Commonwealth bill by the British Parliament. In June, 1900, after the bill had been passed by the British House of Commons, Western Australia voted to accept the constitution, and finally in July, having passed the House of Lords, the measure received the royal sanction. Thus the federal league of Australia was transformed into a federal union under the name of the Commonwealth of Australia, under the crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. On July 13 the queen approved of the choice of the Earl of Hopetoun, former governor of Victoria, as governor-general of the Australian Commonwealth, and on January 1, 1901, the latter proclaimed the new commonwealth and took the oath to the constitution.

The cabinet, with Barton as premier, represented the various states as fairly as possible. In May, 1901, the Duke of Cornwall and York opened at Melbourne the first Australian Parliament. As the most important question confronting the new government was one of revenue, parties were broadly divided into Protectionists and Freetraders, the former having a majority of the members of the House of Representatives, the latter of the Senate. The result was a compromise tariff bill in September, 1902, which had features quite unsatisfactory to several of the states. The Labor party with its simple programme and dis-

ciplined organization held a balance of power in Parliament that soon made itself felt. In December, 1901, an immigration bill was passed excluding all colored labor from the Commonwealth, a measure which pressed hard upon those states whose wealth depends upon tropical products, and which was carried so far that it was applied to colored men employed upon the mail steamers in the contract service, whether British or foreign. The tendency of the Labor party to advance its interests at the expense of the general public, taxing heavily and spending freely, and a belief that there were too many members of Parliament, thus entailing unnecessary governmental expense, resulted in 1902 in the outbreak, especially in Victoria, of a vigorous popular movement for reform and retrenchment. During the same year there also developed in the individual states much discontent over the workings of the Commonwealth government. Queensland particularly was dissatisfied, because her sugar industry was being ruined for want of negro labor, and New South Wales, because she contributed the largest share toward a tariff revenue to which her interests were naturally opposed.



FIG. 126.—G. H. Reid.

In 1902 Lord Hopetoun resigned, and was succeeded by Lord Tennyson, and he, in 1903, by Lord Northcote. In September, 1903, Sir Edmund Barton accepted a federal judgeship and Deakin succeeded him as premier. Nevertheless, the elections for the renewal of one-half of the Senate and all of the House, in December, 1903, gave a decided victory to the Labor party, a result partially owing, it was said, to the female vote, which was cast for the first time in federal elections. The success of the Labor interests was particularly marked in the Senate, thus emphasizing what has appeared to be one of the weaknesses of the new government, namely, the lack of a conservative Upper House. The Labor party was pledged to a Socialist programme and a policy of "Australia for the Australians." Among the bills introduced by them was one providing for the establishment of a court of conciliation and arbitration. In

April, 1904, the government was defeated on a Labor amendment to this bill, and the ministry resigned. A new cabinet was then formed by Watson, the Labor leader, but it was very short-lived, being defeated in July on a clause of the same bill, whereupon Reid (Fig. 126), a Free-trader, and leader of the opposition for the preceding three years, organized a coalition anti-Socialist ministry. In August, Dalgety, an interior village of New South Wales, about three hundred miles south of Sydney, was selected as the federal capital.

For the most part the relations of Australia with the imperial government were cordial. The Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York were enthusiastically welcomed on their visit. The several



FIG. 127.—David Livingstone.

states patriotically furnished military contingents for the Boer War, and the scheme of imperial naval defense, adopted by the colonial premiers in 1902, was favorably received. In regard to Chamberlain's fiscal policy the Commonwealth government expressed itself as favorable, while New Zealand in 1904 enacted a new tariff law providing for reciprocal trade with the mother country.

The western world, the scene of Europe's earliest colonial activity, was

already occupied; but another continent lay equally near, of which Europe in the middle of the century knew very little. Africa was still the Dark Continent. The coast-line had been traced by the Portuguese three and a half centuries before, but little exploration had been begun before the founding of the African Association in London in 1788 and the travels of Mungo Park in the region of the Niger between 1795 and 1806. The river-basin of the Niger, the first to be opened to the knowledge of the world, was explored by the French and English during the first quarter of the century, Caillié successfully reaching Timbuctu in 1826. During the wars of the French Revolution, England wrested the Cape from the Dutch; and under the July monarchy the French gained, in the conquest of Algeria, a foothold in Northern

Africa. Before 1850 after the war with Mehemet Ali had been ended by the treaty of 1840, two German missionaries, Krapf and Reimann, had begun to investigate the Upper Nile and had penetrated southward nearly to the equator. The work thus auspiciously begun was continued by English explorers. In 1858 Burton and Speke discovered Lake Tanganyika, and Speke, pushing on alone, came to the Victoria Nyanza, which he believed to be one of the sources of the Nile. Before 1865 Speke, Grant, and Baker had opened the Upper Nile to its source and had discovered the Albert Nyanza, the most northern of all the reservoirs whence the great river flows.

Thus two of the great river-systems of Africa were investigated and their geography approximately ascertained. At the same time the intrepid Livingstone (Fig. 127) was laboring as a missionary and explorer in the southern part of Africa. In 1849 he had discovered Lake Ngami and had followed the Zambezi, the largest river of the south, from a point high up in its course eastward to its mouth. Ten years later he came upon another lake, the Nyassa, a tributary to the Zambezi system, and thus made known the chief characteristics of the third river-basin, that of the south. Having begun this task so auspiciously, he pushed northward to solve the greatest mystery of all—the sources of the Congo and the whereabouts of the watershed that separated the upper waters of that river from the upper waters of the Nile. He came upon the Lualaba, and in 1871 reached the great Congo itself; but, supplied with insufficient information, was still uncertain whether the river that flowed at his feet were the Congo or not. The problem was left for Stanley (Fig. 128), whose first expedition, undertaken in 1871, resulted in the finding of Livingstone and the discovery that Lake Tanganyika was not a reservoir of the Nile. His second expedition, a memorable journey across the continent, lasting from November, 1876, to August, 1877, brought to light at last the course of the Congo and opened the way for the investigation of the tributaries of the great river, a work which, during the ensuing decade, was unremittingly pursued by a band of explorers, whose efforts brought the very heart of Africa out of darkness into light. Each of the four river-basins now became the object of attention from a score or more of explorers. Junker, Cassati, and Lupton labored in the Upper Nile; Brazza investigated the region between the Ogowai and the Congo; the Portuguese Serpa Pinto, between 1878 and 1881, crossed from Angola to Mozambique; Lenz penetrated the region between Algiers and Senegal; and Emin Pasha (Eduard Schnitzler) began his work in the region of the equatorial Nile.

The reports from Stanley roused an enormous amount of enthusiasm

in Europe and brought the great continent prominently before the minds of European explorers, merchants, and statesmen. The work of Brazza, Wissmann, Stanley, and others, since it laid the foundations of important territorial claims, forced Europe to take an active interest in the explorations. A conference convened at Brussels in 1876 by Leopold II., King of the Belgians, at which the chief states of Europe were represented, may be considered the first step toward the partition of Africa. At this conference was organized the International African Association, for the purpose of co-operation in the exploration and civilization of Central



FIG. 128.—Henry M. Stanley.

Africa. Great Britain, preferring to conduct her explorations separately, refused to join; and though the association sent out numbers of expeditions between 1877 and 1880, it accomplished little, and eventually became little more than a Belgian organization supported by the private fortune of Leopold II.

Each country now began to determine its sphere of interest and influence in Africa. England was in Cape Colony, and had pushed only slightly northward; but she had also colonies at Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, and Lagos. Portugal controlled Angola on the west coast

and Mozambique on the east, with one or two small stations on the Gulf of Guinea. France had Algeria, Senegal, Gabon (French Congo), and one or two settlements in the region of the Upper Niger, and was ready to begin the advance that should consolidate these coast-settlements with the interior. Italy had just established herself on the Red Sea. Germany had not yet officially obtained a footing on the African continent. In 1878 Stanley's return from his wonderful expedition down the Congo changed the attitude of Europe, and the period from 1878 to 1885 marks the first phase in the scramble for territory in Africa.

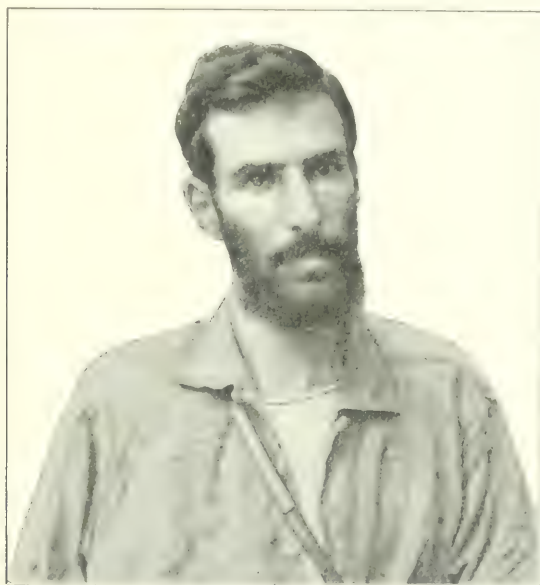


FIG. 129. — BRAZZA.

During these years Europe was feverishly interested in the possibilities of Africa for colonization and trade, and scarcely had Stanley returned when Leopold II. gave him charge of a new expedition which was organized under the auspices of the Congo Committee. This committee was originally a committee of the International Association, but, with new aims and larger purposes in view, eventually became the International Association of the Congo, a Belgian society for the establishment of dominion in the Congo region. To Stanley belongs the credit of preparing the way during the years from 1880 to 1884, for the great Congo State which a year later was to receive European recognition. Stations were established, treaties made, exploring expeditions

sent out, and men trained to continue the work. The opening-up of the Congo and the establishment of the Congo State were Stanley's greatest achievements in Africa. But Stanley's work was stirring up the other nations. Already had the French explorer, Brazza (Fig. 129), begun to explore the Ogowai River south of the Gabun, and in the years from 1879 had established stations on the north bank of the Congo, in the effort to gain partial control of this great waterway. This activity on the part of France resulted in a controversy between Brazza and Stanley—that is, between France and Belgium—regarding the sovereignty of the banks of this great river, which was not settled for several years. Meanwhile Portugal, growing suspicious of the operations of Stanley and Brazza, definitely advanced her claim to all the region between $5^{\circ} 12'$ and 8° south latitude—that is, to the region about the mouth of the Congo—and to the control of that river. In this claim Portugal was supported by England, who in an Anglo-Portuguese treaty of February 26, 1884, acknowledged Portugal's right to this territory. By this act Lord Granville laid himself open to the criticism of the Germans, who charged him with using Portugal as a cat's-paw to secure the monopoly of the commerce of the Congo and the right of imposing arbitrary tolls on all other peoples. Against this treaty the other European states also protested. Bismarck declared that he was not prepared to recognize the applicability of the compact to the subjects or protégés of the German empire, and in this position France supported him.

Thus, in their colonial hostility to Great Britain, France and Germany were finding their interests identical. The French, having already pushed in from Senegal eastward, occupying the Hinterland back of Sierra Leone and Portuguese Guinea, were making impossible British and Portuguese advance inward from that quarter. In 1878 Waddington, the representative of France at the congress of Berlin, had availed himself of the opportunity to secure in advance the consent of the other powers, with the exception of Italy, to a French occupation of Tunis. Again in 1881, finding a pretext in the incursion of the Bedouin tribes of the Kroumir into the territory of Algiers, France compelled the bey, May 12, 1881, to sign a treaty giving her administrative and diplomatic control of the territory. The next year she sent an expedition against Madagascar, where the French, ever since the time of Louis XIV., had claimed, but never practically exercised, certain rights of overlordship; but, unable to penetrate into the interior of Madagascar, she failed to make any decisive gains against the Hovas. A peace concluded with Queen Ranavalona III. in December, 1885,

however, conceded to the French both a war indemnity and the rights of a protectorate. But so far her colonial experience had not been altogether satisfactory; for by the occupation of Tunis she had not only alienated Italy, but had infringed on England's interests in the Mediterranean; and by her interference in the affairs of Madagascar she had got into a quarrel with England on account of the unjust detention of the English missionary and consul, Shaw, on a French man-of-war, for which she had to pay an indemnity of 25,000 francs.

While thus England and France had a footing in Africa, Germany can hardly be said to have entered the field; for though her traffic in the south seas had been growing, it had not been accompanied with any governmental co-operation. Even in 1879, Flegel, a trader in the Niger region, had not been able to persuade the German government to interfere. But in 1882 the German Colonial Society was formed at Frankfort, and in less than a year had increased its membership to nearly 4000; and the imperial government, whose eyes had already been directed to the protection of Rhenish missionaries in Great Namaqualand, entered into correspondence with Great Britain as to whether the English government would guarantee the protection of the German colonists there. Lord Granville disclaimed all responsibility for order except in Walfish Bay, and declared that the northwestern boundary of Cape Colony was the Orange River. It is evident from the position it took at this time that the British Foreign Office had no idea that Germany proposed establishing herself in Africa as a colonizing power, else it would never have allowed this large block of Southern Africa to fall so readily into German hands. Yet the fact that Hamburg and Bremen firms had already some sixty factories between French Guinea and the Cape Colony and the existence of very important trade interests in Zanzibar should have made the British government consider German movements more seriously. But England seemed blind. When, therefore, Bismarck had once seen his way clear to the establishment of a colonial empire, he acted with a rapidity that was in striking contrast with the procrastinating methods of the English. On May 2, 1883, Heinrich Vogelsang, acting for Herr Lüderitz, a Bremen merchant who had finally obtained of Bismarck imperial promise of protection, raised the German flag at Angra Pequena. This act, received at first with incredulity in England, roused British wrath and indignation, and Great Britain was forced to admit that Bismarck had outgeneralled the Foreign Office. On April 24, 1884, the German government officially informed the Cape government that this region was under the protection of the German empire; and after considerable correspondence, in which Germany had

all the best of it, the British government decided to recognize the German protectorate; all subsequent relations were, on the whole, amicable.

In Eastern Africa a similar controversy took place. There an expedition had been sent out by the Colonization Society under Dr. Karl Peters (Fig. 130), Jühlke, and Count Pfeil, which penetrated with greatest secrecy the regions between the Zanzibar coast and Lake Tanganyika and placed them under the protection and suzerainty of the German emperor. Notwithstanding the protests of its own consul, Sir John Kirk, and of the Sultan of Zanzibar, the British government showed no opposition to this act of Germany; but when some of the German



FIG. 130.—Dr. Karl Peters.

agents, flushed with success, sought to obtain possession of St. Lucia Bay on the coast of Zululand, Bismarek was made to understand by the appearance of H. M. S. Goshawk and by a series of definitely worded notes, that Great Britain would not allow annexation in East Africa south of Delagoa Bay. Bismarek, acting on the principle that "England was more important to Germany than Zanzibar and all the East African coast," disallowed the aggressive act.

In regard to the Guinea region, Great Britain had formed a policy of delay mainly because of the opposition in England to any increase of

colonial burdens. Lagos had been acquired by treaty in 1861, and in 1873 Holland ceded its possessions on the Gold Coast to England in return for the renunciation by the latter of its protectorate over Sumatra. This exchange, curiously enough, involved each state in a thirty years' war: Holland with the Achinese (p. 310); England with the Ashantis, whose king felt himself aggrieved in his rights by the compact. But General Wolseley, overcoming all obstacles, reached in February, 1874, the enemy's capital, Kumassi, and there dictated a peace to the king, making him bind himself by the promise to abolish the atrocious system of human sacrifices. But, as later events were to show, the war was far from over. Nothing further was done, however, in Western Africa until the years 1883 and 1884, when French and German explorers bestirred themselves. On the recommendation of the Hamburg chamber of commerce, Dr. Nachtigal was commissioned to explore the unoccupied territory about the Gulf of Guinea; and before England knew what was happening, Nachtigal had raised the German flag over Togoland and Kamerun. When the British consul, Hewett, finally arrived, Kamerun was already in German hands. Thus, so far as Africa was concerned, Bismarck completed his work of acquiring colonies which, two years before, no one in Germany and no one outside, least of all the British Foreign Office, would ever have believed the imperial government desired.

Great Britain, France, Germany, and Portugal were now all actively engaged in the colonization of Africa; and it was necessary for them to come to some understanding, if peace and order were to be preserved. In June, 1884, Portugal, the weakest of all, and more alarmed than the others regarding her claims, proposed an international conference. The proposal was taken up by Bismarck, who found a willing ally in France, and invitations to a conference at Berlin were sent to all the powers interested. This conference met on November 15, 1884, and sat until January 30, 1885. Bismarck would have been glad to have had all the African rivers declared free, according to the principles of the congress of Vienna; but Sir Edward Malet, representing England, refused to agree to any such arrangement, and consequently the supervision of the trade and navigation of the Lower Niger was left entirely in England's hands, France getting the oversight of the Upper Niger only. The latter country, through a very favorable compact with the Congo Association, obtained a wide district, which enhanced the value of the Brazza acquisitions.

But the crowning result of the Berlin conference was the "Congo act," subscribed on February 23, 1885, by which the navigation of

this stream and its tributaries and the railroads in its basin were declared free. All the subscribing powers pledged themselves to the conservation of the natives, to the amelioration of their condition morally and materially, to the suppression of the slave-trade, and to the protection and encouragement of all religious, educational, and philanthropic institutions, of whatever creed or nationality, whose object was the elevation of the blacks. A special declaration prescribed the formalities to be observed in regard to the occupation of land over seas; and the doctrine was laid down that no annexation on the coast would be recognized which was not evidenced by effective occupation and the establishment of some kind of jurisdiction. It was further provided that every such purposed occupation must be intimated to the other conference powers, who in case of need could make good their protests against it; and the carrying-out of the act was entrusted to an international commission. The boundaries of the Congo State were gradually determined, first by agreements with Portugal in February, 1885, and at the same time by declaration of the administrator-general of the department of foreign affairs of the Congo Free State; afterward by agreements with France in May, 1887, and with Portugal and Great Britain in 1891 and 1894. Of all the powers, the United States on April 22, 1884, had been the first to recognize the flag of the International African Association, a gold star in a blue field. A week after the conference closed, Germany had followed suit; and before the close of February, all the powers had done the same. On April 30, 1885, the Belgian legislature authorized King Leopold to accept the title of "sovereign of the Congo State." The union between Belgium and the new state was to be, however, exclusively personal, though by a convention made on July 3, 1890, Belgium acquired the right to annex the territory at the expiration of ten years. In 1895 a bill to that effect was introduced into the Belgian Chamber, but was withdrawn on account of the hostility which it had aroused. When the convention expired, in January, 1901, parties in Belgium disagreed as to whether to annex the territory or to continue the convention for another ten years. The Socialists opposed the renewal of the convention as inadequate, while Catholics, like Beernaert, favored a compromise, looking to eventual annexation.

While the interests of the powers in Africa were thus becoming defined, England was concentrating her attention on Egypt, which demanded special attention as a thoroughfare eastward since the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. The work of Lesseps made necessary an

entire change in the policy of England by lessening the importance of the Cape route to India and demanding that the British government secure the control of Egypt. The first great step to this end was taken when Disraeli in 1875, anticipating the collapse of the Ottoman empire and taking advantage of the necessities of Khedive Ismail Pasha, purchased for £4,000,000 the 176,000 shares in the Suez Canal which the latter possessed. He also sent, at Ismail Pasha's request, the financial expert Cave, with a staff of assistants, to bring order out of the financial chaos. But matters went from bad to worse. The khedive's persistent extravagances soon reduced Egypt to bankruptcy, and a joint French and English commission, appointed to devise means for the permanent amelioration of the financial situation, finally recommended that the khedive surrender his whole landed property to the state and agree to impose no tax without warrant of law. Ismail, on August 22, 1878, agreed to both conditions, and accepted Nubar Pasha as the head of a new cabinet, with Wilson, an Englishman, minister of finance, and a Frenchman, Blignières, minister of public works. But the khedive was restless under the new control, and sought to free himself from the financial restraint put upon him by abrogating in the decree of April 22, 1879, the international supervision of the finances. Then England and France, supported by Germany, demanded of the sultan the deposition of the khedive. Assenting to this demand, Abdul Hamid II. ordered the khedive to abdicate in favor of his son, Tewfik. The western powers then took the government under their control, and, though establishing a native government, managed the country as a bankrupt corporation in the hands of receivers.

Against this intrusion of aliens into the land, there was formed a National party, composed largely of the officers and men of the disbanded Egyptian army, under the leadership of Colonel Arabi Bey, which inscribed on its banner the war-cry, "Egypt for the Egyptians." A revolt on September 9, 1881, effected the downfall of the Riaz ministry, wrested from the khedive the promise of a constitution, and made good one of the most important demands of the insurgents that the army be increased to 18,000 men. Tewfik appointed Sherif Pasha as the head of a new cabinet, and made Arabi Bey at first under-secretary and then minister of war. The National party appeared to be in the ascendant, and Arabi Bey to be Egypt's liberator. The French cabinet of Gambetta urged upon England some joint action which should restore the old order of things; but England hesitated, and a few months afterward Gambetta fell from power. Arabi's influence increased; he became a pasha, and with his advancement went the

determination of the National party to recover control of Egypt's finances. The resistance of the khedive, acting under the advice of Sir Edward Malet, to the purposes of the Nationalists provoked an outbreak of Mussulman fanaticism. On June 11, 1882, forty-nine Europeans were slain and eighty-six wounded, in a riot in Alexandria. Immediately England, desiring to keep in close touch with France, proposed a joint action; but Gambetta was no longer in office, and his successor, Freycinet, was opposed to Egyptian intervention. Against the will of the peace party, the Gladstone ministry, realizing that its prestige in the East was at stake, determined to act alone. On July 11, Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour opened fire upon Alexandria; and after the city had fallen, General Wolseley (Fig. 131) occupied the



FIG. 131.--Lord Wolseley.

city and seized the Suez Canal. The decisive battle was fought with Arabi Pasha at Tel-el-Kebir on September 13. Taken by surprise in their entrenchments, the Egyptian army was hopelessly beaten, and a few days afterward Cairo fell into General Wolseley's hands. The rebellion immediately collapsed. Arabi surrendered at Cairo, and was sentenced to exile for life in Ceylon, but in 1901 he was pardoned.

England now assumed entire control of the Egyptian administration and finances, subject only to the general veto of the international commission in matters relating to the public debt. But the recent events had a tragic aftermath. The southern provinces of Darfur and Kordofan, availing themselves of the disorganized state into which Egypt had fallen, threw off the rule of the khedive. Opposed to the khedive **or**

religious grounds, for as Shi'ites they hated the Sunni rule of the northern Mussulmans, and on economic grounds, for the khedive had prohibited their slave-trade, they supported the cause of one Mohammed Achmed, claiming to be the Mahdi or Guide, the representative of Allah on earth. The Sudan revolt swelled to vast proportions. In the summer of 1882, Professor Edward Palmer, a distinguished Orientalist, sent on a diplomatic mission to the Bedouin tribes, was slain near Nakl. In November, 1883, Hicks Pasha, nominated by the khedive to take the field against the Mahdi, was defeated in Kordofan and his army nearly annihilated. Baker Pasha, who attempted to reach Khartum in order



FIG. 132. General Gordon.

to protect the English residents there, was obliged to return. Then the Gladstone ministry, at its wits' end, advised the khedive to give up the Sudan; but when the latter objected to this surrendering of the "back door of the house," through which the riches of equatorial Africa were to flow into Egypt, it decided to send General Gordon (Fig. 132) to deal with the Mahdi. The latter began by proclaiming the Mahdi to be Sultan of Kordofan, and then sanctioned slavery once more in the Sudan. But all measures that he took proved unavailing, and he soon saw himself shut up in Khartum, while the English government made no effort whatever to relieve him. Shamed at last into action, Gladstone des-

patched General (Lord) Wolseley with a relief expedition; but before the advance-guard had reached the neighborhood of Khartum, the news came that the city had fallen into the hands of the Mahdi and that Gordon was dead. This, for the Gladstone government, was the acme of failure in a disastrous foreign policy. The death of the Mahdi checked the advance of his followers further northward, but the Sudan provinces were for the time being lost. The governor of the equatorial province, Emin Pasha (Fig. 133), maintained himself gallantly at



FIG. 133.—Dr. Schnitzler (Emin Pasha).

Wadelai until an expedition from the Congo Free State, led by Stanley, rescued him in 1889 and escorted him to Zanzibar. There he entered the service of the German government and engaged in leading expeditions to carry Germany's authority into the interior and to open the caravan routes. He was murdered by Arab slave-traders in 1892.

Between the Berlin conference and the Brussels conference of 1890, and while Great Britain was acquiring her veiled protectorate in Egypt, and the territory of the Upper Nile was in revolt under the Mahdi, the various colonies to the west, centre, and south were steadily expanding,

and the era of "companies" was ushered in. Peters founded the German East African Company, February 12, 1885, and enlisted the co-operation of Germany in the development of Eastern Africa. In 1888 a charter was granted to the British East Africa Company, and the territory north of the German sphere became the seat of operations. In consequence of the uncertainty regarding the boundaries, a delimiting commission had been appointed, which completed its work in the autumn of 1886, two years before the British company actually obtained its charter. The boundary-line was drawn from the mouth of the river Umba to Lake Victoria Nyanza, throwing the whole Kilimanjaro region into Germany's sphere. This was not wholly to England's liking, but more embarrassing still was Germany's retention of Witu and her claim to a



FIG. 134. — Sir George Goldie. From a photograph by Elliott & Fry, London, England.

protectorate in Somali. Happily, however, in that quarter trouble was averted by the arrangement of 1890, whereby Great Britain gave up Heligoland and received in return Wituland, protectorate rights over Zanzibar, and the valuable land of Uganda between the Victoria Nyanza and the Congo Free State. Thus the "spheres" and the Hinterland were defined, and the northern territory, looking toward Somaliland, Abyssinia, Darfur, and Kordofan, was left fully open to the British company; while German East Africa, bounded by the Congo Free State on the west, made agreements with Portugal the same year for the river Rovuma as her southern line. The strip reserved to the sultan along the coast by the arrangement of 1886 was leased by both British and German companies within their respective spheres.

In Western Africa, France, England, Portugal, and Germany had established themselves on the Guinea coast. During the period from 1885 to 1890, France had conducted campaigns under Colonel Gallieni from Senegal into the interior and about the Upper Niger, for the purpose of connecting the Upper Niger settlements with those on the coast. The result of this activity was the creation of a triangular French sphere from Senegal to the Gulf of Guinea, the beginning of that vast extension of France in the Niger country that was to follow in the next decade. The French advance aroused the English merchants, chief of whom was Goldie Taubman, now Sir George Goldie (Fig. 134), to take in hand the region about the mouth of the Niger, which had for many years been exploited by individual traders. In 1881 the National



FIG. 135.—Joseph Thomson. (From a photograph by Elliott & Fry, London, England.)

African Company had been formed, and for ten years a struggle between the British and French companies took place. In 1884 the French companies, which were playing a losing game, were bought out by the English; but another battle for Central Sudan at once began with the Germans in Kamerun. Again were the English successful, this time through the aid of Joseph Thomson (Fig. 135), the explorer, who entered the service of the company, and, proceeding up the Niger, secured the lands on its banks by treaty and carried the authority of the company to Sokoto and Gando. In 1886 and again in 1890, the boundary between the two spheres was carefully defined; and the company after some difficulty secured a royal charter, the first to be so given,

under the title of the Royal Niger Company. This revival of the old colonial charters under a new form and with even greater privileges was to be repeated but twice: once, as has been mentioned already, with the British East Africa Company, and again later with the British South Africa Company.

In Southwest Africa, where the Germans had first planted their flag, commercial activity and success had been far less marked than on the eastern coast. The relations between German Southwest Africa and the Portuguese colony of Angola were adjusted by an agreement of December 20, 1886, whereby the Kunene River was accepted as the boundary, and a line running eastward to the Zambezi marked the direction of interior expansion. On the south, by an agreement with England, July, 1890, Orange River was recognized as the boundary-line, while Walfish Bay and the islands off the coast, Hollam Bird, Roast Beef, and others, remained under British suzerainty, though the exact measure of the territory around Walfish Bay had not been determined in 1901.

But no colony in Southern Africa was to make such progress or to show such determination when once aroused as that of the Cape. Until 1870 Cape Colony did not extend beyond the Orange River; but the discovery of the diamond-fields of Kimberley led to the annexation of Griqualand West in 1877, though such act was clearly unjust to the Orange Free State, to which an indemnity was afterward paid. This revival of interest in South Africa led to the formation of a plan for the fusion into one "South African Confederation" of Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal, the last two of which states had been founded in 1848 by the Boers, who had emigrated thither from Cape Colony. This scheme was abandoned in 1880. But in 1877 Great Britain, maintaining that inasmuch as the Transvaal republic was not only bankrupt, but also incompetent to control the tribes on its border and internally in a state of rebellion bordering on civil war, it was a source of common peril, annexed the republic, and for four years, whether rightly or wrongly, occupied it. During this period the governor, Sir Bartle Frere, who desired to open communication between the newly acquired territory and the coast, undertook the subjugation of the Zulus, but met with unexpectedly stubborn resistance from this race. A column under Lord Chelmsford, on January 22, 1879, fell into an ambuscade at Isandula and was almost annihilated. It was in this struggle that the prince imperial, son of Napoleon III., on June 1 lost his life, when on a reconnaissance; nor was it until July 4, when General Wolseley arrived with reinforcements at Ulundi, that the Zulus were defeated. King Cetewayo, who gave himself up at this time, was rein-

stated in 1882 over a portion of his domains; but, driven forth by a rival, he died a fugitive among the English.

In the meantime the Boers had endeavored to persuade the British to withdraw, but this the Gladstone ministry refused to do. Therefore, on December 16, 1880, they declared their independence and elected Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert a triumvirate to carry on the government. The Boers first repulsed the British at Laing's Nek, January 28, 1881, and afterward defeated them with heavy loss at Majuba Hill on February 27, slaying the English General Colley. In the treaty concluded on August 3, the British crown guaranteed to the Boers self-government under certain specified terms and conditions, which were intended to secure the rights both of the burghers and of the British residents in the Transvaal. In 1884 this shadowy suzerainty was better defined and limited to a tutelage in foreign affairs, over which Great Britain retained entire control. Stirred by fear of the Germans on the west and the Boers on the east, the Cape government, in the face of Boer protests, made treaties with the Bechuana tribes in 1884 and 1885, and in the latter year annexed the territory as Bechuanaland, a valuable acquisition which was to prove the gateway to British expansion into Central Africa.

Thus by 1890 the African seaboard was entirely occupied or controlled by one or other of the European powers. In view of the changed political condition resulting therefrom, Lord Salisbury communicated with the King of the Belgians, proposing that a conference should be called to take into consideration measures for the "gradual suppression of the slave-trade on the continent of Africa" and the immediate closing of all the external markets which it still supplied. The conference, which met at Brussels in November, 1889, and sat until July 2, 1890, adopted resolutions which, if efficiently carried out, would affect for the better the condition of Africa. The conference declared its belief that the slave-trade could best be restricted by a more efficient organization of the administrative, judicial, religious, and military services in the regions controlled by the powers; by the gradual establishment in the interior of stations so strongly occupied and fortified as to make their protective or repressive action efficiently felt in the territories devastated by slave-hunting; by the construction of highways and railroads and the organization of steamboat service on the inland waters; the building of telegraph-lines, the equipment of exploring and scouting expeditions to keep up the communication of the stations with one another and with the coast; and lastly, by restricting the importation of improved firearms between 20° north and 22° south latitude. Furthermore, they agreed to intercept and examine caravans on land, and to suppress the trade by

sea within a maritime zone bounded by the coasts of the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, the East African coast to Quilimane (near the mouth of the Zambezi), and then by an imaginary line drawn from Quilimane to the twenty-sixth parallel of latitude, thence along the parallel past the island of Madagascar, and from there turning northward to Baluchistan. No less important was the resolution to prohibit the sale of distilled liquors wherever, between the parallels of 20° north and 22° south latitude, they had not been introduced, and to impose heavy duties elsewhere. The work of the Brussels conference was significantly important, but agreement among the powers was a first and necessary step to the attainment of the practical results so earnestly desired. Sir Samuel Baker spoke truly when he said, in 1890, that "the slave-trade will never be suppressed until England shall adopt a determined and continuous policy that will work harmoniously with Germany for the development of Central Africa. Any conference at Brussels will be futile in practical results unless a system shall be pursued that will enforce obedience to the law in countries where at present every scoundrel is beyond the law." On May 19, 1900, the work of the conference was extended by the adoption of measures looking to the preservation of game within the stated area.

At the close of the Berlin conference of 1885, not a power except the Congo Free State had sought to pass from seacoast to interior; but at the close of the Brussels conference in 1890, nearly every country had to a greater or less extent discovered its Hinterland and was gradually occupying it. This period of five years had created modern Africa. The Congo State, free and neutral, originally international, but at this time practically Belgian, lay almost entirely inland, possessing by arrangements made in 1885 and 1887 with Portugal and France only a narrow outlet by way of the Congo. All its boundaries had been or were soon after determined by agreements with the powers: the southern portion being delimited by agreements with Portugal in 1891 and 1894, and with Great Britain in 1894 after long controversy, rival expeditions, and final resort to arbitration; and the northern by treaty with Great Britain in 1893 and with France in 1894 after two years of equally serious contention, diplomatic skirmishing, and even bloodshed. During these years the State had difficulties in establishing its authority over Katanga in the region of the Upper Congo, and expeditions sent there under Lieutenant Le Marinel and Captain Stairs, on one of which the latter died, were full of excitement and danger. The Arabian slave-traders of the region between the Congo and Lake Tanganyika rose in revolt in 1892-93, and fierce war raged for two years, during which the State troops were defeated, whites were captured, and stations were

destroyed. The overthrow of the Arabs in 1893 broke the power of the slave-trade in that region, and in 1894 Lieutenant Dhannis, to whom the credit of this notable work is due, reached Lake Tanganyika and reoccupied the Upper Congo region. This great achievement made possible the development of the life of the State, the creation of a native militia, the strengthening of the stations, the mapping-out of the territory, and the opening-up of the rivers to navigation. A steamship-line was established to Matadi, a railroad built for 250 miles from that point around the rapids, while another was planned to cross the State eastwardly, branching northward to Lake Albert Nyanza, and southward to Lake Tanganyika. The position of the Congo Free State was a difficult one, for its government had the very centre of Africa to open and civilize. In 1895 the Congo government got into trouble with England by hanging the British trader Stokes, whom it accused of inciting the natives to revolt. Reforms were introduced in 1896 for the protection of the natives, and some of the worst officials were dismissed. In 1897 an uprising of the Batalelas proved formidable, and complaints that had been heard before regarding the cruelty on the part of the administration toward the natives were heard anew in the same year. By 1903 the allegations of oppression and enslavement of natives and the existence of vast monopolistic concessions in the state became so serious that England addressed a note to the other signatory powers of the Berlin convention taking exception to these practices. Further reports of atrocities aroused sentiment still more strongly in 1904, especially in England. In August it was announced that the Belgian government had appointed three commissioners, two Belgians and one foreigner, to conduct a thorough investigation into the condition of affairs in the Congo Free State.

In British East Africa, the company, having no government support as had the Congo Free State, was able to proceed but slowly with the opening-up of its territory. Its task was greatly simplified, however, by the famous agreement of 1890 with Germany, and it was confronted no longer with the attempts of the German explorer, Peters, to extend German influence in what he considered Germany's sphere of influence. Expeditions to the interior under Thomson, and later under F. J. Jackson, disclosed the advantages and difficulties of the inner region, and for a time the company confined its labors to the coast. It rebuilt Mombasa and a fort at Machako, half way to Victoria Nyanza, and improved the harbors along the coast. Of all its difficulties, the most serious was that with Uganda, the seat of the cruel M'Wanga, who had ordered the murder of Bishop Hannington in 1885. In 1892 Captain Lugard was sent there to keep order and to hold the kingdom for England; but the

company, made bankrupt by the expense of this difficult and intricate undertaking, threatened to abandon Uganda unless the government came to its aid. In 1893 the Gladstone ministry rather reluctantly took Uganda under its own protection, and in 1895 bought out the company for £50,000, together with £200,000 additional in behalf of Zanzibar. Thus the British company surrendered its charter and the territory became the British East Africa protectorate, governed under the Foreign Office by a commissioner and a consul-general. But Great Britain did not seem specially interested in her colony, though she built at a cost of about £5,500,000 the much-needed Uganda Railroad from Mombasa to Kisumu on Lake Victoria, a distance of five hundred and eighty-four miles. The territory thus opened is a rich country that had been one of the most important hunting-grounds of the slave trade, and is in large part suitable for European colonization. In 1899, after two years of great suffering and loss, a revolt incited by old M'Wanga was suppressed, and in 1901 Sir Harry Johnston, British commissioner in Uganda, was able to report that the country was completely tranquil. In 1900, some time after the rising of the Mullah in northern Somaliland, the Ogaden Somalis slew the British commissioner, Jenner, near Kismayu, capital of the Jubaland province of British East Africa. His death was avenged by a British punitive expedition in the following year, and there were no indications of further trouble.

In German East Africa, the situation was scarcely less discouraging; and the company, which in May, 1889, had been incorporated by imperial charter, was unable to maintain its control. An insurrection of Arabs on the coast in 1888-89 was subdued only after Wissmann had been appointed imperial commissioner. From this time Germany made large annual grants which rendered possible great progress in the coast-towns. The ten-mile strip of coast belonging to the Sultan of Zanzibar was purchased in 1894 for 4,000,000 marks, and, after expeditions had been made into the interior, a railroad was begun, to run from Tanga to Lake Victoria Nyanza. Telegraph-lines were erected along the coast, and a cable laid to Zanzibar. When in 1894 the Congo State signed a convention with England, according to which, in exchange for a lease of a portion of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and a harbor on Lake Albert Nyanza, it granted the right of passage through its territory to the projected trans-African telegraph-line and the lease of a strip of land west of Lakes Tanganyika and Albert Edward Nyanza, Germany earnestly protested, not desiring that German East Africa should be entirely surrounded by British influence. England yielded the point, and so made easier the negotiations begun in 1899 by Cecil Rhodes at Berlin for a passage for the railroad line from Cairo to the Cape, through German territory, a

plan that was apparently abandoned later. In 1902 Mr. Robert Williams obtained a concession to build a railroad from the northern borders of Rhodesia to Lake Kassall in the Congo state, which line, by an arrangement with Mr. Rhodes, was to connect with the Rhodesian system. The brutal methods employed by the Germans in East Africa had brought the administration into disrepute. In 1897 Dr. Peters was tried for cruelty and dismissed from the company's service.

But in spite of such harshness German East Africa was the most prosperous colony of all that Germany possessed. In her southwestern African colony development was not so rapid. In 1895 a new Anglo-German company was organized, in order better to exploit the country; but, as has been well said, in a country of which the agricultural capabilities were limited and the mining resources doubtful, and which had not only powerful competition in cattle-rearing, but an administration that demanded a large yearly grant from the German Parliament, and a company that had already sunk a comparatively enormous capital, progress would of necessity be slow. Toward the end of 1903 there was a serious uprising of the natives, who massacred many German residents, destroyed their houses, and drove off the cattle. After much loss in money and men the German government sent Lieutenant-General von Trotha, in May, 1904, to take command of all the German forces, some ten thousand men, in the colony. By the end of the year the Herreros and Witbois had been defeated, but the Ovambas, who were better armed and more numerous, were still unconquered. In Kamerun the first difficulty was one of boundaries. In consequence of agreements reached with Nigeria in 1890 and 1893, and the next year with France, the matter was permanently settled. It was a crown colony with an imperial governor, and had greatly prospered, although there too charges of cruelty toward the natives were made and sustained. The administration had been efficient, the country had been well opened up toward the interior, a campaign against the slave-traders, undertaken in 1899, was ended successfully, and the revenue, which in 1890 was about 200,000 marks, had increased to 600,000 in 1898. In the main, that which was true of Kamerun had been true also of Togoland.

In Portuguese West Africa Mr. Robert Williams obtained an important concession in 1902 for a railroad from Lobito Bay to the eastern frontier, connecting with the Rhodesian lines, which it was hoped would mean much for the economic development of the region.

In West Africa the complications and controversies of the Niger region had overshadowed all other questions. The British colony of Gambia, since 1888 a crown colony, that of Lagos, since 1886 also a crown colony, and the larger land of Sierra Leone, which became a

separate state in 1888, had had up to 1905 little history to recount. The chronicle of the Gold Coast had been enlivened by the long and threatening struggle with the Ashantis, whose defeat by General Wolseley in 1874 has already been noted (p. 381). In 1896 the Ashanti war broke out again, owing to the failure of the king to hold to his promises regarding human sacrifices and slavery. But this uprising was suppressed without great difficulty. The expedition cost the life of Prince Henry of Battenberg, who died of malarial fever; but it accomplished its object and ended in the establishment of a British protectorate. In 1900 an attempt on the part of the British government to obtain possession of the golden stool, the symbol of Ashanti royalty—the loss of which to the native tribes would have meant that no native king could ever again reign over them—was followed by a dangerous rebellion. On June 23, 1900, the governor-general, Sir F. Hodgson, escaped from Kumassi to the coast and immediately dispatched to rescue the English a relieving force, which reached the capital on August 31. The Ashanti tribesmen were defeated, the queen of Ashantua was dethroned, the fetish town of Ojesu completely destroyed, and British rule restored. By December of the same year the rebellion was ended by the surrender of the rebel chiefs. In 1901 Ashanti was definitely annexed by Great Britain, the governor of the Gold Coast being appointed also governor of Ashanti. The boundary between the Gold Coast and German Togoland, which had been left unsettled since the agreement of 1890, was finally determined in 1899 by the Samoan agreement of that year, an arrangement which carried the Hinterland of the Gold Coast colony considerably northward and opened up a large area to British trade. This territory was also annexed by Great Britain in 1901. That this region did not suffer more severely as a result of the long and costly Ashanti war was due to the increasing gold industry. The facilities for the production of gold were greatly improved by the completion in 1903 of the Gold Coast Railway from the coast to Kumassi, a distance of 180 miles, with branch lines to various mining properties. Another industry which promised even more to the commerce of the country was cotton growing. The prospects for this were especially good in Lagos and Sierra Leone.

The most striking features of West African history were the expansion of the French east from Senegal and south from Algeria and the establishment of the Royal Niger Company, which, under the directorship of Sir George Goldie, had pushed its way up the Niger and was occupying the region between the Niger and Lake Chad. In 1889-90 Captain Binger made explorations for the French which resulted in the uniting of the French colony of the Ivory Coast with the Senegal Hinterland, thus giving France a solid block of territory shutting in

Liberia, with which a boundary agreement was finally made in 1894, and Sierra Leone, whose boundary-line was settled the next year. These expeditions in the Niger and Lake Chad regions were continued from 1890 to 1893, and in the latter year the French under Colonel Bonnier entered Timbuctu, for many years the goal of French explorers. While advance in these regions was made without serious disaster, the French were threatened in 1892 with a serious setback in the colony of Dahomey, whose king made a determined and almost successful effort to throw off the French control. The campaign that followed was a dangerous one for the soldiers, on account of the deadly climate and the difficulties of transit; but under General Dodds it was carried to a successful issue in 1894, and the capital was seized. A new king was chosen, and after that date little further trouble was experienced. The treaty which was made with England in 1897 left the Dahomey colony open into the interior, and gave to France another line of communication with the coast.

But the desire of the French that all West Africa should come under French control, except for the smaller colonies mentioned above, was thwarted by the growth and extension of the British settlements at the mouth of the Niger, which, as we have already seen (pp. 388-9), had been consolidated under the Royal Niger Chartered Company. By shrewd and wise management that company, of which Sir George Goldie was the inspiring head, succeeded not only in extending its trade and commerce, but also, by making treaties with the native chiefs, in advancing its claims into the Sokoto and Gando regions. War in 1897 with the Sultan of Nupé on account of slave-raids was followed by another with the Emir of Ilorin, the company in both cases winning the victory. On June 19, 1897, Queen Victoria's jubilee day, slavery as a legal institution was declared abolished throughout the Niger territories, and at the same time strenuous efforts were made to prevent the introduction into these lands of gin and rum. The military activity of the company and its expansion northward brought it into an alarming conflict with France in 1898. The French pushed eastward into the territory claimed by the British as within their sphere, and for some months French and British troops faced each other in the Borgu region just west of the Niger. But the governments of these countries had no thought of going to war, and settled the matter on June 14, 1898, by a convention which bounded the Hinterland of the Gold Coast at the eleventh parallel of north latitude and considerably curtailed Nigeria by handing over to France certain regions on the north and west that had been within the extreme British claim of effective possession. But the burden of defence was

too heavy for the company, and the extent of territory too great for a single administration of that character to control. So in July, 1899, the Niger Company surrendered its charter and received from the government as compensation £865,000, the latter assuming debts to the amount of £250,000. The work of extending the area of British control in the north was continued in February, 1901, when the hostile slave-trading emirs of Kontagora and Bida were defeated, their towns captured, and thousands of slaves released. In the same year the province of Yola was brought within the governed region, and two years later the High Commissioner, Sir F. Lugard, led an expedition that established British authority over the great region of Sokoto. During this period several successful campaigns were also conducted against tribes west of the Niger.

By the treaty with England the colonial territory of France was considerably enlarged and the junction of the French Sudan and the French Ubanghi was actually accomplished by 1900. However, the limit of French advance eastward was checked by the arrangement of March, 1899, between France and England, in which a line was drawn, by way of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and Darfur, from the Congo Free State to Fezzan, beyond which France bound herself not to attempt to acquire political influence, an agreement that wounded Italy, who had hoped some day to acquire Tripoli, of which she considered this region the Hinterland. The first years of the twentieth century were marked by great activity and spirit in the development of this vast territory. Railroads in Senegal, Dahomey, and French Guinea were being pushed rapidly, and a road was projected for the French Congo. Large sums were also spent upon improving the harbor at Dakar, the seat of the general government and the principal port. On the other hand, unexpected difficulties were found in the way of developing the island colony Madagascar, where a protectorate had been established in 1885. In August, 1890, Great Britain recognized this protectorate, and during 1894 and 1895 the French entered upon the deliberate conquest of the island. After suffering greatly from fever and meeting with stubborn resistance on the part of the Hovas, they were finally successful, and in January, 1896, the island was annexed to France. At first, Queen Ranavalona was maintained in all her prerogatives and honors; but the next year she was deposed by General Gallieni and sent in exile to the island of Réunion, with an annuity of 25,000 francs. But the French occupation of Madagascar proved but a doubtful blessing; for, though it undoubtedly contributed to the material development of the island, it led to serious religious quarrels between Protestants

and Roman Catholics; and the methods of administration, characterized as they had been by discrimination in matters of trade and by excessive officialism, brought the management of the island into dispute.

With the occupation of Madagascar, the delimiting of the boundary between the Gold Coast and Togoland, and the fixing of the English and French spheres in the Sudan, the last serious questions touching the control of unoccupied territory in Africa were settled, and the partition of Africa was practically complete. A great period of African history had thus been brought to a close, and it is a noteworthy fact, when viewed from the standpoint of European diplomacy, that this feat of dividing Africa was accomplished mainly within fourteen years (1885-1899) and without war among the powers. The period which followed was to be characterized not by a scramble for territory, but by the development of the internal resources of the continent.

In the extreme northwest, opposite Spain and lying between two seas, the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, was Morocco, an independent native state, ruled by a dynasty descended from Ali, the uncle and son-in-law of Mohammed. Shut in by French influence on two sides, Morocco was destined to become, indeed had already become, an object of interest to the European powers, both because of its fertility and commercial attractiveness and because of its importance as the gateway to Africa if close communication should ever be effected by tunnel under the Straits of Gibraltar. The territory was in some districts among the most mountainous in Africa. It was occupied in the plains by Arab tribes, and by Berber tribes in the mountains, and for centuries had remained the seat of a semi-barbarous organization and life, far behind in civilization the other parts of the Mussulman world.

When in 1579, at Alcazar, the Portuguese King Sebastian suffered a serious defeat at the hands of Muley Mohamed, Emperor of Morocco, the last attempt to conquer the Moorish kingdom was brought to an end, and from that time until the nineteenth century the people remained in a state of isolated barbarism. The inroads of the French, which in 1844 followed the conquest of Algiers, and the invasion of the Spaniards, which ended in the treaty of Tetuan in 1860, brought Morocco once more into touch with Europe and engendered a healthy respect for the European powers. In 1873 the emperor or sultan, Sidi Mohamed, died, and was succeeded by his son, Muley Hassan, who was crowned at Merakesh (Morocco) in September of that year. During the reign of this remarkable man the power of the sultan rose to an unprecedented

height, and successful efforts were made to establish his authority in all parts of this Moorish territory. During the period from 1873 to 1888, Muley Hassan was engaged in war with the tribes between the Great Atlas and the coast. After 1888 he entered upon an active campaign against the Berber tribes in the mountains separating Fez from the upper waters of the Muluya. Having succeeded in 1894, partly by religious means, partly by force, in breaking up among the mountains of the southeast the confederation of peoples which had been organized to resist his authority, he went on a pilgrimage to Tafilet, the cradle of his race. Planning greater conquests, he was preparing to push southward into the Sahara region when he was suddenly called back by risings of the Riff tribes of the coast and their attack on the Spanish garrison at Melilla. The following June (1894) he died at Tadla, and was succeeded by his son, Abdul Aziz, a boy fourteen years old.

The position of the Sultan of Morocco with regard to the foreign powers was not unlike the position of the greater sultan at Constantinople with regard to the same powers. His resistance at every point to the encroachments of foreigners was aided by the unwillingness of the powers to raise any question regarding Morocco that might lead to disagreement and possible conflict. In 1880, and again in 1888, conferences had been held in Madrid to determine the rights of foreigners to acquire property, and of foreign states to establish consulates and to exercise special control over their subjects in Morocco. The decisions reached, however, were evaded and remained a dead letter. Of equally little avail were the special commercial agreements which Morocco entered into with Germany and England. Nevertheless, the pressure of the powers had a marked effect in breaking down the exclusiveness of the sultan and in increasing the volume of trade between Morocco and other countries. England obtained a bit of land on Cape Spartel in order to erect there a lighthouse, and France gained protectorate privileges on the Algerian frontier over the Mussara tribe, which had refused to recognize the authority of the sultan. Spain, who deemed Morocco within her sphere of influence, had received from the sultan in 1883 a harbor, Santa Cruz de Mar Pequana, at the mouth of the Ifnu River, and claimed rights over the strip of coast from Cape Bojador to Cape Blanco. Scarcely a year passed in which serious diplomatic controversies did not arise with the English, French, or Spanish representatives. In 1892 the sultan paid £2000 as indemnity to Great Britain for an attack on the British mission at Fez, and in 1894 paid 20,000,000 pesetas to Spain for the invasion of the Riff tribes into the presidio of Melilla. In July, 1900, a naturalized American citizen was murdered in Fez by a

fanatical mob. The Moroccan government refused to pay the indemnity of \$5000 until the cruiser *New York* appeared on the scene in March, 1901, and the claim was settled. In May, 1901, two French cruisers appeared off the coast to demand indemnity for the murder of a Frenchman, Pouzet, by one of the chiefs of the Riff tribes, the caïd of Keldana. The incident at first aroused some apprehensions in that during the years 1900 and 1901 the relations between Morocco and France had been unusually strained, on account of French incursions into Igli and Tuat, and in June, 1900, the sultan had addressed a communication to the powers, protesting against the encroachments of France. But in June, 1901, the matter was amicably settled, the sultan delivering to France the guilty persons, releasing all prisoners, and practically recognizing the sovereignty of France in Tuat. The reconciliation thus reached was diplomatically confirmed, toward the end of June, by the sending of a Moroccan ambassador, Si Abdel Krim Ben Sliman, to Paris, and the incident was considered closed. By her action France had considerably increased her prestige among the tribes of the sea-coast west of Algeria.

Strenuous efforts had been made during the last years of the century to obtain concessions from Morocco, particularly for railroads, without which the development of the country could not be promoted. As long, however, as the grand vizier, Sidi Ahmed Ben Musa, continued to rule in the name of the young sultan, as he had done for the preceding six years, there was little expectation of change in the policy of the country. But after his death in May, 1900, the young sultan displayed unexpected firmness in taking into his own hands the reins of government and began very soon to make reforms, although he evinced from the outset a tendency toward extravagance. In 1902 a former soldier in the sultan's service, Omar Zarhuni, began a formidable revolt that seemed to be based upon reaction against everything foreign. This insurrection was so successful that in 1903 the sultan could scarcely hold his own, and despite his best efforts it continued in 1904. The finances of Morocco were by this time in a deplorable condition and much lawlessness prevailed. In May an American citizen, Perdicaris, and his stepson, Cromwell Varley, were seized by a brigand, Raisuli, who demanded for their release a large ransom, immunity from punishment, and certain rights. After considerable pressure had been brought to bear by the United States and France the sultan found himself obliged to grant the demands of the brigand. By the end of the year Raisuli was capturing caravans at the very gates of Tangier. Meanwhile in April, 1904, the Anglo-French colonial agreement had been concluded by which the paramount interests of France in Morocco were recognized,

and a most important step taken toward realizing the French ambition for a great West African empire. But Morocco was still sensitive to direct French control, and Emperor William of Germany was enthusiastically received when he visited Tangier in March, 1905.

Italy's colonial experiences in Africa have been discussed already. Ambitious to extend her sway over the whole of Abyssinia, she suffered in 1896 a terrible defeat at Adowa, which chilled her ardor for colonization. In consequence she resigned all pretensions to control over Abyssinia, and in December, 1897, gave back Kassala to Anglo-Egyptian control. A treaty signed October 26, 1896, with Abyssinia, recognized the entire independence of that country, and Italy confined herself to Erythrea, her colony situated on the Red Sea and extending from Cape Kasar to Bab-el-Mandeb, and to her protectorate over a portion of Somali. A protocol was finally signed in July, 1901, after ten years' negotiation, delimiting the Italian and French possessions in the Red Sea littoral. In 1898, Ras Mangascia, the governor of Tigré, rebelled against the authority of the negus Menelek, but was brought to submission in 1899. Of all the native African kings, the negus was the most interesting. He was a Christian, and was on excellent terms with England and France, his neighbors. Moreover, he took an active interest in new undertakings that would ensure the welfare of his subjects, and preserved a correct diplomatic attitude that he might maintain the independence of his territories. He aided British travellers who had undertaken journeys in Abyssinia for the purpose of scientific exploration, and co-operated with Great Britain in expeditions sent against the Mad Mullah. This personage, Haji Mohammed Ben Abdullah, had begun his career among the Somalis in February, 1899, declaring himself the true Mahdi. He attacked tribes friendly to Great Britain and made incursions into Abyssinian territory. Early in 1901 the attack against him was begun in earnest. Several times he was defeated, but rallying on each occasion he drove back the expeditions sent against him. In January and February, 1904, the British under General Manning had seemingly crushed him, and the English government decided to discontinue military operations in Somaliland. On April 14, 1905, the Italian minister for foreign affairs, Tommaso Tittoni, announced that the Mad Mullah, submitting to the protectorate of Italy, was to be granted a small kingdom, carved out of Italian Somaliland, with a seaport.

The position of Egypt in Africa has been in all respects unique. In 1873 the sultan had issued a firman which limited his own powers as

overlord by defining the duties of the khedive, who had received his title in 1867, and given him independent rights in all matters relating to police, postal and transit services, and the imposition of customs duties. As almost the last remaining marks of vassalage, the khedive paid a tribute of about \$3,500,000, and was not allowed to maintain more than a certain number of ships of war; but within these limits this sovereign was theoretically independent, and he was so in fact until 1879, when Ismail was deposed (see p. 383) and the dual control of England and France was established. This European protectorship, however, impaired in theory none of the khedive's rights, for technically every act was still based on the khedive's authority. This joint control, which had had its origin in a committee of Egypt's bondholders who were appointed to receive the revenues set aside to the service of the debt, was soon merged into a body having greatly extended authority in financial matters and composed of representatives of the six powers. At the same time the powers exercised judicial functions through an international court having a restricted criminal and full civil jurisdiction over foreigners who were exempt from the local courts, and administrative functions through boards which managed the railways, telegraphs, and crown lands of Egypt.

Lastly existed the authority of the British government—the veiled protectorate—as the possessor of which, England was eager to reduce to a minimum the international control and labored gradually to do so. British authority grew strong by slow but successive stages. The dual control with France in 1879, the occupation of 1882, the overthrow of Arabi Pasha in the same year, the necessity of acting as the advisor of the khedive in all matters pertaining to reform or reorganization, the determination that advice when given should be followed—all these things marked the stages in the growth of England's power in Egypt. In 1886 came the sultan's demand that England withdraw; and to this England agreed, demanding full right, however, to intervene if the internal peace or external security should be threatened. But inasmuch as the sultan refused to permit the exercise of this right, and in his opposition was upheld by France, Lord Salisbury refused to evacuate; and though exposed to a constant fire of protests from both France and Turkey, England remained in Egypt, on the ground that the need of financial and administrative reform, the improvement of the condition of the people, the development of trade and industry, the restraint of anarchy in the upper provinces demanded her presence. In so doing, England was guilty of breaking her pledged word, and this fact must be asserted, even though at the same time we concede that during the following years, under the wise and beneficent manage-

ment of Lord Cromer (Fig. 136), the material and moral condition of the land underwent complete transformation. The reports of Lord Cromer from 1898 to 1905, and notably the report of the public works department for 1900, showed a progress that probably could not be surpassed by that of any civilized country of the west. But all these efforts were expended in the interest not of Egypt for the Egyptians, but of eventual British control. If England were to retain command of the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal, and the waterway to India, it was necessary that she should control Egypt. Her position was strengthened by the victory of Kitchener at Omdurman in 1898, for by the Anglo-Egyptian convention of January 19, 1899, England obtained full control



FIG. 136. — Lord Cromer. From a photograph by Elliott & Fry, London, England.

of the upper provinces. In June, 1900, the khedive, Abbas II., who succeeded his father in 1892, made his first official visit to England.

But the most absorbing aspect of the history of Egypt in the last decade concerned the Sudan—the region, that is, from Wady-Halfa and Suakin on the north to Fashoda on the south, eastward to Kassala, and westward to Darfur. This territory had been lost to Egypt in 1885, when Gordon fell; and for eleven years, while English officers were reorganizing the Egyptian army, only sporadic attempts at offensive action were made, activity being chiefly confined to defensive measures. On August 3, 1889, a forward movement by Wad-el-N'juma, one of the khalifa's most trusted generals, was checked at Toski by the black Egyptian infantry under General Grenfell and a detachment of British mounted troops under Colonel Kitchener. The khalifa's

general was killed and his army nearly annihilated. This brilliant victory saved Egypt from further invasion and pushed forward the frontier to Sarra. In 1891 the Anglo-Egyptian forces started from Suakin, captured the town of Handoub, and in a fierce fight at Tokar, February 19, overwhelmingly defeated the dervishes under Osman Digna, and recovered the district of Tokar. In 1892 the Egyptian army was disbanded, and a British general, to whom was given the



FIG. 137.—Lord Kitchener. (From a photograph by Messrs. Bassano, London, England.)

title of sirdar, was entrusted with the task of training and organizing a new army. After the retirement of General Grenfell, Colonel (now Lord) Kitchener (Fig. 137) was appointed sirdar, and under his guidance the fighting force of Egypt was put in readiness for further conquests. A British army of occupation—numbering, all told, about 5000 men—was kept in the country, and offensive operations were further

aided by the continuation of railway construction from Kench to Assuan. Thus Egypt was made ready for action.

The year 1896 was selected for the advance southward and the recovery of the lost provinces. England's prestige had already suffered from the defeat of Hicks Pasha and the death of Gordon, while in more recent years the overthrow of the Italian army at Adowa (1896) had encouraged the dervishes; and the report that the French were pushing from the southwest into the Bahr-el-Ghazal, and that a Russian colonel was endeavoring to co-operate with them from the Abyssinian side, gave rise to the fear that England's occupation of Egypt might be endangered. On August 25, 1896, with 15,000 men, the sirdar, General Kitchener, advanced into Dongola and occupied it on September 22. Further operations were suspended until 1897, when, the railroad having been completed from Wady-Halfa half-way to Abu-Hamed, the army moved on, capturing the latter town and occupying Berber and Kassala, the latter of which the Italian government had placed under Anglo-Egyptian control. During the winter the railroad was extended to Berber, and the army, the splendid fighting force which Kitchener had created, prepared for the final attack on the dervish strongholds. On April 8 came the great battle of the Atbara, when every Briton, Egyptian, and Sudanese, remembering Gordon and Khartum, fought bravely for victory in the bloodiest onslaught of the whole campaign. This battle broke the back of the dervish resistance, though the khalifa, falling back to Khartum, awaited the victorious troops at Omdurman. Kitchener, waiting till the rise of the Nile enabled him to use the gunboats, made the final attack at Omdurman, September 2, 1898, where the dervishes, after an heroically brave defence, were defeated with great slaughter. After a year's pursuit, Colonel Wingate came up with the khalifa in Kordofan on November 4, 1899, and slew him; and in January, 1900, Osman Digna, the last of the emirs, was captured.

Thus was the Sudan recovered. On January 19, 1899, was signed the Anglo-Egyptian convention, which provided for the joint government of all territories above—that is, south of—the twenty-second parallel of latitude by the queen and the khedive, with the sirdar as the sole representative of both, with the title of governor-general. This convention was remarkable in that it ignored the suzerainty of the sultan and expressly declared that the international boards existing at the time in Egypt had no authority above the twenty-second parallel. Thus these provinces came under the joint authority of England and Egypt, and England's hold upon Egypt was tremendously strengthened. In December, 1899, after Kitchener had been summoned to the Cape to take part in the Boer war, Sir F. Wingate was appointed sirdar and governor-general of the

Sudan. On January 1, 1900, this territory was declared open, and on the 10th the first through train ran from Cairo to Khartum. November 8, 1902, the Gordon Memorial College at the latter place was completed and formally opened. In the same year treaties with Abyssinia and Italy determined the frontiers of Abyssinia, Erythrea, and the Sudan, and provided for the construction of a railway through Abyssinia to connect the Sudan with Uganda. In 1903 plans were made for the building of a railway to connect the valley of the Upper Nile, near Berber, with the Red Sea at Suakin, which it was hoped would be ready for traffic in about three years' time.

The victory of Omdurman and the capture of Khartum revealed what had already come to the knowledge of the British authorities: the presence in Fashoda of a body of Sengalese troops under Major Marchand, a French officer, who claimed that this territory was within the French sphere. This incident, assuming greater importance in British eyes because of the recent victories, stirred up the people of both nations, and from September to November, 1898, there was talk of war. Great Britain was unnecessarily dictatorial in her demand that France withdraw at once; while France, already in the throes of the Dreyfus difficulty and convinced that to be obstinate meant war, was inclined to argue the question. As it turned out, there seems to have been a misunderstanding in the matter, for France wished not territory, but a commercial outlet only, and this England was perfectly willing to grant. By the agreement of March 21, 1899, the boundary between the two spheres was definitely drawn, and France received the commercial outlet desired on the Nile, thus connecting her possessions on the Congo and the Upper Ubanghi with the Mediterranean and the Red Sea by the way of Egypt. By the Anglo-French colonial settlement of April, 1904, France finally consented to withdraw all opposition to England's occupation of Egypt, and before the end of the year this agreement had received the formal approval of Germany, Austria, Italy, and Russia. These powers also undertook in return for certain privileges not to insist upon a time limit to the occupation.

By the annexation of Bechuanaland as a crown colony in 1885, Great Britain had opened the Hinterland beyond to her colonists at the Cape. The discovery of gold in 1886 was the signal for the rush of immigrants to the Transvaal and the founding of Johannesburg, which in a marvellously short space of time became a city, at first rivalling and eventually surpassing Cape Town in size and numbers. By an agreement with the Orange Free State, railroads were pushed through, connecting Johannesburg with Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. This dis-

covery of gold in the Transvaal turned men's minds to the region further inland, where in March, 1888, the British government had obtained from King Lobengula, son of the old Moselekatze, King of Matabeleland, a signature to a treaty according to which Matabeleland, Mashonaland, and the Makalaka territory as far as the Zambezi were recognized as within the British sphere of influence. This treaty completely cut off the Boers from expansion northward and presented a serious obstacle to all extension, by means of a belt across Southern Africa, of Portugal's territory. In November, 1888, certain prospectors—Rudd, Maguire, and Thompson—confident of the existence of rich gold-mines in this territory, obtained from Lobengula the right of search for minerals and the control over mineral deposits when found. This agreement, known



FIG. 138. Cecil Rhodes. (From a photograph by W. & D. Downey, London, England.)

as the Rudd concession, combined with certain other rights obtained in the same region, was absorbed in October, 1889, by the British South Africa Company, which was chartered by the crown. The new company, with Cecil Rhodes (Fig. 138), a Hertfordshire man and a graduate of Oxford, as managing director, had a capital of £1,000,000. It also had large powers, similar in scope to those of the old East India Company, over an enormous territory extending at first to the Zambezi and in 1891 to the territory beyond, except Nyassaland; and it had the full right to exercise political, legislative, and military authority in these regions.

On the receipt of this charter, the company made an arrangement with the Cape government whereby the railroad which ended at Kimberley

might be continued to Vryburg; and this having been done, preparations were made for taking possession of the country. A pioneer force of 192 promoters, with 500 armed police, was despatched in June, 1890, northward, which opened, as it went, a roadway four hundred miles in length and constructed forts at Tuli, Victoria, Charter, and Salisbury, with post-stations between. After thus taking possession, the force disbanded and the men scattered over the land, locating mining-claims, of which it is estimated that over 10,000 had been staked within a year. This pioneer movement was characteristically British—given an inch, the company had no hesitation in taking an ell. It stirred up not only the Portuguese, who immediately contested the British claim, but also Lobengula, who denied that he had ever granted away so much power and right of control. Of the new territory, A. R. Colquhoun was the first administrator; but he was succeeded by Dr. L. S. Jameson in 1891. Attempts were made to settle the eastern boundary with Portugal, but without success; the British had cut into what the Portuguese claimed as their Hinterland, and in 1890 a conflict between the British frontier police and Portuguese volunteers was avoided with difficulty. For the moment, it looked as if a military encounter was unavoidable; but happily the dispute with Portugal was settled by the treaty of June, 1891, after the Portuguese, angered almost to desperation, had rejected one convention after another, overthrowing one cabinet after another, and after riots had taken place in the streets of Lisbon, and the monarchy itself had been endangered. The new arrangement, which gave to Portugal a large block of territory commanding the Upper Zambezi to Zumbo, was expected to compensate in some degree for losses in other directions.

But the trouble with Lobengula was not so easily settled. The Matabele king, having always claimed the right to treat the Mashona tribes as if they were his slaves, and having been accustomed to send his *impis* there yearly to demand cattle and tribute, refused to give up this practice, even though the company declared that Mashonaland was under its protection. Lobengula refused to promise not to molest the Mashonas, while the company was determined that these marauding expeditions should cease; and as compromise was apparently impossible, war was declared in 1893. On October 25, with the consent of the high commissioner, Lord Rosmead, formerly Sir Hercules Robinson, the men from the Victoria and Salisbury forts, 400 each, commanded by Colonel Goold-Adams and Major Forbes, and armed with Winchesters, Maxim and other machine-guns, set out for Bulawayo, the Matabele capital, and in the battle of the Imbembesi, November 1, overthrew the Mata-

bele power. After a pursuit of two months, marked by the tragic death of Major Wilson and his party, the pursuing column learned of the death of Lobengula from fever, and the campaign came to an end. The Matabeles accepted the situation, and for two years remained peaceful; but in 1896 a last attempt was made by the Matabele warriors to recover their lands from the British. The rising of the tribesmen was accompanied with massacre of the whites and destruction of property, and it was a full year before the war was brought to an end and the chiefs were compelled to submit. This sudden onslaught was due in part to the return of Matabele's son, Mabele, and the restlessness of the chiefs, and in part to the failure of the Jameson raid into the Transvaal in 1895, and the measures taken by the company to stamp out the rinderpest, which the Matabeles construed as an attempt to starve them.

British territory in South Africa in 1896 consisted of Cape Colony, Rhodesia, British Central Africa or Northern Rhodesia, and the British Central Africa protectorate or Nyassaland. Bechuanaland had ceased to be a crown colony in 1895 and had been annexed to the Cape, thus carrying the territory under the Cape government to the Molopo River on the north and to the Portuguese line on the northeast. From the Molopo River, Rhodesia extended to the Zambezi, while north of the Zambezi was British Central Africa. This region had been occupied in the early eighties by the African Lake Company, through whose efforts the region between Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika had been opened. Boundaries had been arranged with Germany in 1890, with Portugal in the Anglo-Portuguese agreement of 1891, and with the Congo Free State in 1894. In 1892 the Lakes Company had been absorbed by the British South African Company, and its territory, excepting Nyassaland, brought under that company's control. Sir Harry Johnston became the commissioner-general, and under his energetic management slave-trading and native uprisings were suppressed and industry was developed. The telegraph-line from the Cape was carried to the German frontier, and under the new agreement was ready to enter the German sphere; while the railroad, which was extended to Salisbury in 1899, and had by the close of the century advanced eighty miles up Lake Tanganyika toward Ujiji, was planned to connect in Uganda with the Egyptian road already at Khartum. In 1898, in consequence of the outrageous abuse of its military power, as seen notably in the Jameson raid, the British Company suffered a considerable emendation of its charter and curtailment of its privileges. The crown invested in the high commissioner greater control over the military and administrative affairs of the company, and appointed a resident commissioner to act on

the spot for the latter functionary. This wise measure was made necessary by the latitude previously allowed the company and the unscrupulous manner in which it had often abused its privileges.

The advance of the British into Central Africa cut off the Boer states—the Orange Free State and the South African Republic, the name which the Transvaal had assumed in 1884—from all hope of expansion either toward the interior or toward the ocean. By the annexation of Tongaland in 1894, the Cape Colony had cut off the republic from the Indian Ocean; while by special agreements with Portugal, and later with Germany, the British government checked all hope of the Transvaal's ever obtaining any part of Portuguese territory by purchase or otherwise. In the long rivalry with England over the acquisition of territory, the Boers had been defeated at nearly every point, and they felt that the bit of Zululand (1887) and Swaziland (1895), so grudgingly allowed them by Great Britain, were no adequate compensation for their loss. Thus the two republics stood almost surrounded by British territory. So far as internal matters were concerned, the position of the Boers was peculiar. By the Sand River convention of 1852, England had granted to them "the right to manage their own affairs and to govern themselves according to their own laws, without any interference on the part of the British government." But this independence had been entirely lost by the annexation of 1877 and not entirely restored in the convention of 1881, though in that of 1884 the British suzerainty was restricted to foreign relations and not very strictly observed even at that.

Up to this point, the position of the Transvaal and its relations with England were not matters of very serious concern to anybody; and the exact meaning of the treaty of 1884 might never have been sought for, had not the discovery of gold in the southern part of the republic attracted attention in 1885. Immigration began to the gold-fields, and English, Americans, Australians, and others flocked to the Transvaal until the numbers surpassed those of the burghers themselves, and Johannesburg became a city not of Boers, but of foreigners. During the ten years that followed, the relations between Boers and foreigners (Uitlanders) became exceedingly strained. The former, whose hostility to the English was a matter of fifty years' standing, resenting the presence of the Uitlanders—on the ground that, should the latter ever become voters and members of the government, they would overthrow the republic and eliminate the Dutch element—set barriers in the way of such a result by increasing the years of residence necessary for naturalization. But more serious to the Uitlanders was the administrative inefficiency of the Boers and the unjust discrimination displayed by their government in matters

of taxation, education, justice, and the like. In these and other particulars the Boers showed a narrow-minded, even vindictive, spirit, irritating to the foreigners, who, though they had come into the Transvaal with their eyes open, had come from states where political and civil equality had obtained.

Unable to get redress of these grievances by peaceful means, the Uitlanders began to conspire in 1894-95 against the Boer government. The "reformers," as the conspirators were called, not only made preparations in Johannesburg among themselves, but entered into communication with Cecil Rhodes, the director of the company and at that time premier of Cape Colony. Through him an arrangement was made whereby the Chartered Company should lend assistance by sending Dr. Jameson, the administrator, to wait on the boundary with mounted troops ready to dash for Johannesburg at the word. Whatever may be thought of the original conspiracy, this co-operation of the Chartered Company admits of no defence. Furthermore, Jameson, impatient of delay, started prematurely on December 29, 1895, galloped into the territory, and, though he succeeded in penetrating as far as Doornkop, was there surrounded, and, after a brief struggle, compelled to surrender. The result of this raid was in every way disastrous. It destroyed all hope of success for the "reformers," who at once gave up their project; and Jameson, having been handed over to Great Britain, was tried in England and sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment. The leaders of the "reformers" were tried at Pretoria, and, though sentenced to death, were afterward pardoned; and the South African Company lost its charter and received another containing extensive limitations upon its military power. The raid contributed no good thing; even from the aggressive point of view, it was a failure; and from the standpoint of a peaceful settlement of the South African difficulty, it was a criminal blunder. The Boers and others believed that behind the conspiracy lay Rhodes and the Chartered Company, probably also Chamberlain and the Foreign Office. This belief rendered hopeless the efforts of the Liberal party among the Boers themselves—the Young Boers—who honestly wished to be conciliatory to the Uitlanders. It was the Jameson raid that threw the game into the hands of Kruger, the President of the republic (Fig. 139), and his party of reactionists.

From 1896 to 1899 some progress was made toward lightening the position of the Uitlanders, and some slight concessions were granted even by the reactionary government. The price of dynamite was reduced, customs dues were taken off the staple foods, railroad rates were lowered, and the administration of the "liquor pass" and "gold theft" laws

was made more stringent. But in comparison with the greater grievances, these gains were slight; and the Uitlanders unfortunately were unwilling to await a slow progress, which, when the personal ascendancy of Kruger had been destroyed and the oligarchical rule of the Old Boers had been overthrown, undoubtedly would have brought the desired relief. But with Kruger and the Hollanders in power, little in the way of reform was to be expected. This Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary, understood when in 1896, Rhodes having resigned the premiership at Cape Town, and the military forces of the Chartered Company having been placed under imperial control, he assured Kruger that the "imperial government would countenance no aggression upon the independence of the republic," at the same time warning him



FIG. 139.—Paul Kruger. (From a photograph by Elliott & Fry, London, England.)

against too persistent a policy of *non possumus* regarding the grievances of the Uitlanders and inviting him to come to England to discuss the matter.

With Kruger's refusal to leave Africa and the reiteration by Chamberlain in October, 1897, of British rights of suzerainty, the relations between the two governments became decidedly strained. Race feeling in South Africa, which had been steadily growing more friendly, now began to grow more bitter. On March 9, 1897, President Steyn, of the Orange Free State, signed a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with the Transvaal. The arming of the Boers, which had begun before 1895, now went on by leaps and bounds, showing an anticipation of attack. Forts were erected, Krupp guns, machine-guns,

rifles, and ammunition in enormous quantities and of excellent quality were bought, and drill-instructors and artillerymen were imported. On the side of the British, the appointment of Sir Alfred Milner, a known Imperialist, as high commissioner, was ominous for peace, while the fact that a series of remonstrances addressed by the imperial government to President Kruger met with no satisfactory reply increased the feeling of irritation in England. In December, 1898, Milner was summoned to England, and the whole situation was reviewed in discussions with Chamberlain and the Foreign Office. After the return of the commissioner to Africa, the agitation in Cape Colony increased; petitions were circulated and a campaign was pursued in behalf of the grievances of the Uitlanders. On May 5, 1899, Milner telegraphed Chamberlain, endorsing the Uitlanders' demands, speaking of their existing position as that of helots, and urging the reform of the franchise as the only remedy. Then followed the meeting with Kruger at Bloemfontein, May 31-June 5, in which Milner showed little tact in his method of dealing with the Boer President, in his demands regarding the franchise. Kruger offered alternate conditions which would have distinctly improved the existing franchise law, and in rejecting this offer with unnecessary peremptoriness Sir Alfred Milner closed the door to peace. Three months of useless diplomatic manoeuvring followed, a good deal of which on England's side rung of coercion. In the meantime Parliament was summoned, the reserves were called out in England, and an army corps was dispatched to South Africa. Confronted with these evidences of force, Kruger on October 9, trusting in the hope of foreign intervention, dispatched an ultimatum to the British agent at Pretoria, naming five o'clock on the 11th as the limit of the time given for cessation of the military preparations. This meant war.

The British, at the opening of hostilities, had a force of 1500 men at Mafeking, under Colonel Baden-Powell, another of 3000 at Kimberley, under Colonel Kekewich, and in Natal a large force amounting to 13,000 men, which had been recently taken in charge by Sir George White, who had just arrived from India. Before the British could make a hostile move, however, the Boers had invaded the colonies. On October 14, three days after the expiration of the time mentioned in the ultimatum, they advanced on Mafeking and Kimberley. By the 15th they had isolated Kimberley and cut off Mafeking from all communication with the outside world, and had advanced into Natal by way of the old battle-grounds of Laing's Nek and Majuba Hill. The British having decided to check the Boer invasion at this point, Sir George White advanced from Durban to Ladysmith, where his stores were accumulated. On

October 20 the first battle was fought at Talana Hill near Dundee, and a little later another at Elandslaagte. But these battles were doubtful successes for the British, and step by step General Yule was forced back to Ladysmith, where on November 2 the Natal army was surrounded by the Boers and the town completely invested. With the investment of Ladysmith came the news that two British battalions and a mountain



FIG. 140.—Map of the Anglo-Boer War.

battery had been captured on October 31 at Nicholson's Nek. So confident were the Boers of eventual success that at this juncture they proclaimed the annexation of Griqualand, Bechuanaland, and other portions of the British colonies.

The situation for the British at the end of October was far from encouraging. Reinforcements arrived from England under Sir Redvers Buller, with Generals Methuen, Gatacre, and Clery as division com-

PLATE XVII.



Lord Roberts of Kandahar.

From a photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company, London, England.

manders. The organization of a triple movement opened the second period of the war: Buller, with 16,000 men, was to advance to the relief of Ladysmith; Methuen, pushing northward by the westerly route, was to break the investment of Kimberley; while Gatacre was dispatched to Queenstown to prevent the Boers from invading Cape Colony by way of the southern border of the Orange Free State. In each case fierce fighting took place, with so many disasters to British arms as to throw a gloom over England. Methuen dislodged the Boers at Belmont on November 23, at Enslin on the 25th, and in the frightfully bloody battle of Modder River on the 28th; but in the battle of Magersfontein he was repulsed on December 11 with heavy loss, including the death of General Wauchope. Gatacre, with no gains to his credit, was defeated at Stormberg, December 10, with heavy loss in killed and prisoners; while Buller, advancing on the Tugela, was beaten back at Colenso on December 15, with a loss of 1100. The succession of defeats during this black week in December stunned the British and gave great joy to the friends of the Boers, who hoped that the predominance of the British in South Africa might be destroyed. England at last woke to a realizing sense of the seriousness of the situation.

The third period of the war now began. Lord Roberts (PLATE XVII.) accepted the chief command, Lord Kitchener hurried from Cairo to join his chief at Gibraltar, three new divisions were mobilized, volunteers flocked to the enrollment, and the colonies, responding to the crisis, renewed their offers of troops, which England this time accepted. On January 10, 1900, Roberts and Kitchener landed at Cape Town and at once infused life into the forward movement. But success came very slowly. Gatacre and French continued their attack on the southern frontier of the Free State, while Buller continued to hammer away on the Tugela. The Boer advance was checked, and on January 16 the crossing of the Tugela began under General Warren. Severe losses followed: disaster at Spion Kop, January 23, seemed to show mismanagement somewhere; and finally on the 26th, Warren and Dundonald retired behind the river. This movement had been made without full appreciation of the strength of the Boer position, and it failed from want both of adequate knowledge of Boer strategy and of experience in methods of fighting necessary among rocks and kopjes. In the meantime, on February 8, Roberts and Kitchener had taken the field and had determined on an advance along the western line from the Modder River to Kimberley and an invasion of Boer territory from that quarter. Success here relieved the entire situation and broke down the aggressive Boer policy. Roberts, joined by General French, relieved Kimberley

on the 15th, and by very skilful strategy having forced General Cronje to retire up the Modder River, finally surrounded him at Paardeberg and captured him with his whole force. This, the first noteworthy success for the British, threw open the Orange Free State to invasion and drew away the Boers from the south and east. Buller was now able to push on to Ladysmith, which was at last relieved on February 28. On the southern frontier, Generals Brabant and Clements occupied Rendsburg and Colesberg, and on March 7 Gatacre seized Burghershorp. Presidents Kruger and Steyn now made overtures for peace on the basis of Boer independence; but with Roberts already in the Orange Free State and ready to move on Bloemfontein, with Gatacre and Brabant pushing up from the south and all but across the frontier, and with Natal cleared of Boer troops, England positively rejected these proposals. On March 13 Roberts captured Bloemfontein, and on the 15th Gatacre entered the Free State from the south at Bethulie. Gradually the Boer state was cleared of troops; city after city was captured; Kitchener took Prieska, Clements took Phillippolis and then Jagersfontein, while hundreds of Boer farmers surrendered and accepted the terms of Lord Roberts. But the main Boer army fought with determination every step of the invasion. The death of General Joubert, noblest Boer of all, on March 27, weakened the Boer resistance; but his place was taken by Botha, who, with the elusive De Wet, continued the warfare through April and frustrated every attempt to relieve Mafeking.

Gradually by skilful strategy, greater mobility of movement, and persistent battering the British widened the occupied area, the Boer forces retreated northward, and finally Roberts sent word to Mafeking promising relief on the 18th of May. True to his promise, he despatched a flying column from Kimberley under Colonel Mahon, which, outflanking the Boers at Fourteen Streams, Vryburg, and beating off an attack at Jean Massibis, entered Mafeking on the 16th. The heroic garrison, under its resourceful leader, Colonel Baden-Powell, had for seven months held the town against persistent Boer bombardment and assault. On May 12, Roberts, continuing the invasion, entered Kroonstad; by the 22d, Heilbron was occupied and the Free State cleared of Boer troops; and on the 26th the Orange Free State, under the name of the Orange River Colony, was annexed to the British empire. The way now lay open for the invasion of the Transvaal. Roberts entered from the south, while Buller, having occupied Dundee, Glencoe, and finally Newcastle (May 15-17), was ready to cross the frontier from the side of Natal. On the 27th Roberts crossed the Vaal, and Generals French and Hamilton fought their way step by step to Johannesburg, where the British

flag was raised on the 31st. Kruger fled to Waterval Boven, and the organized Boer resistance collapsed. On June 5 the British flag was raised over Pretoria, and the military occupation of the Transvaal began. On July 23, after a period of comparative inaction, Lord Roberts began a general advance from Pretoria eastward toward Lydenburg. The Boers under Botha and De Wet, retreating to the mountain regions, refused to surrender and displayed unexpected staying powers. Though defeated at Machadodorp, they clung tenaciously to each position, Barberton, Lydenburg, Spitzkop, and withdrew before superior forces only. During the winter the guerilla warfare continued. Kruger, unable to share in the hardships of constant retreat, embarked on a Dutch cruiser at Lorenzo Marquez for Europe. Although in France and Holland he was greeted with enthusiasm, his mission in search of allies proved a failure. France was noncommittal, and in Germany the emperor refused to receive him. Already on September 1, 1900, the annexation of the South African Republic to the British empire under the name of the Transvaal colony had been proclaimed by Lord Roberts at Belfast.

Notwithstanding the occupation of their capital and the official annexation of their land, the spirit of the Boers remained unbroken; and the small mobile commandos, ranging over the vast area of territory that the British had attempted to occupy, eluded the British forces and inflicted damage wherever possible by attacking isolated posts, destroying railway-lines, capturing war-material, and cutting off sources of supply. Lord Roberts, recalled to England in November, 1900, to succeed General Wolseley as commander-in-chief of the British army, handed over his command to Lord Kitchener, who soon began to employ more rigorous measures, such as gathering the inhabitants within the towns, sending captured Boers to St. Helena and Ceylon, clearing the open country of people and stock, devastating fields, burning farms, and the like. A Parliamentary report stated that up to January 31, 1901, 634 farm-buildings, mills, cottages, and hovels had been destroyed. But the Boers continued the struggle with unabated energy, inflicting losses and defeats that were not only humiliating to British arms, but were proving enormously expensive for the British government. Peace negotiations were opened in April, 1901, but were unsuccessful, owing to the determination of the British Colonial Secretary, Chamberlain, to accept nothing less than unconditional surrender. With the failure of these attempts, DeWet, Botha, and Steyn met in conference and decided to continue the war. The recall of Milner in April, followed by his elevation to the peerage as Lord Milner of Cape Town, and his return on August 10 to

resume the duties of high commissioner with the added functions of governor of the annexed colonies, showed that the British government was determined to put as good a face as possible upon an exceedingly awkward situation.

The war now became practically one of devastation and extermination. The British troops were broken up into small detachments, the block-house system was extended and several thousand of the burghers organized for service as National Scouts, so that the Boer commandos might be harrassed, driven, and entrapped. Nearly all the noncombatants were gathered into concentration camps and the country laid waste. But in spite of all this the Boers kept up a spirited resistance marked by several brilliant successes, notably the capture of Lord Methuen by General Delarey, March 7, 1902. By the spring of 1902, however, the Boers realized the hopelessness of their cause, and finally yielded to the fundamental requirement of the British, the surrender of their independence. This granted, the British terms of peace as signed at Pretoria, May 31, were most liberal. Except for those guilty of a breach of the laws of war a general amnesty was proclaimed, exiled prisoners returned, no loss of property suffered or special tax on land imposed for defraying the expenses of the war. Concessions were made regarding the use of the Dutch language in schools and courts, and a commission was appointed with a fund of £3,000,000 at its disposal for the purpose of assisting in restoring the people to their homes and supplying them with the necessary stock, seed, and implements.

The opportunity for constructive statesmanship was one worthy of a master mind, but Cecil Rhodes had died in March, and upon Lord Milner alone fell the burden of the new administration till his resignation in October, 1904. Early in 1903 Chamberlain made a visit to South Africa that seemed to do much for conciliation. While firmly insisting upon the maintenance of the peace compact in all its provisions, he made a strong appeal for harmony and united effort in the work of developing the country. While old antagonisms were not easily forgotten, reconstruction and readjustment in the conquered territory proceeded as well as could have been reasonably expected. Far the most pressing industrial problem was that of the scarcity of labor. After months of discussion an ordinance was enacted in the Transvaal, January, 1904, authorizing the importation of Chinese laborers. As a result thousands of coolies had been imported before the end of the year, but much friction had resulted because of the hostility of the Boers to the system.

CHAPTER XI.

EXPANSION OF EUROPE: ASIA AND THE CHINESE QUESTION.

WHILE the other European powers were concentrating their attention upon Africa, Russia was gradually pushing her way eastward and southeastward into Asia. The Muscovite government, which as far back as the Crimean war and the war of 1877 had found in England its chief opponent, had practically given up the attempt to advance by way of Constantinople, and had contented itself with opposing England in Armenia and Crete, and in upholding the cause of Turkey and France in Egypt, the Sudan, the Niger basin, and the Persian Gulf. This veiled hostility found more open expression in the east, and the old enmity showed itself on the continent of Asia. In Afghanistan and in China, new fields for rivalry were found; and the older issues—the integrity of the Ottoman empire, the occupation of Egypt, and the control of the Mediterranean—gave place to other and greater issues in the arena of world politics.

Since the Crimean war, the vast Russian empire had employed its time in extending its sway in Central Asia partly by directly incorporating the Turkestan khanates one after another, partly by making them dependent on itself, and thus, step by step, advancing nearer to Afghanistan. By 1870 a Russian province of Central Asia had been constituted, with Tashkend as its capital. The Khans of Bokhara and Khokand had been reduced to vassalage, and only the Khan of Khiva remained independent. But this condition was not allowed to remain long. Claiming that the Khan of Khiva had held Russian subjects in captivity or sold them as slaves, and had aided the revolting Kirghis, General Kaufmann (Fig. 141), supported by General Verefkin and Colonel Markosoff, marched to the city of Khiva and compelled the khan to sign a treaty by which he ceded all the territory north of the Oxus, paid an indemnity of 2,200,000 roubles, granted to Russia the exclusive right of navigation of the Oxus, and agreed to govern according to the advice of a Russian resident. When in 1876 the Khan of Khokand got into trouble with his people and fled to the Russians at Tashkend for protection, General Kaufmann intervened there also. After a brief campaign he conquered the khanate and incorporated it into the

Russian empire under the name of the province of Ferghana. The khan thus deposed lived as a pensionary of the Russian government.

England watched this advance of Russia with some anxiety ; but the Gladstone ministry, interested chiefly in the problems of internal reform, did not do more than demand in 1873 the better delimiting of a boundary-line marking the English and Russian spheres of influence. At that time Russia expressly declared that Afghanistan lay outside her sphere ; but this did not prevent her from entering into confidential relations with Shere Ali, the Ameer of Kabul. With the accession of Disraeli to power, an entire change took place in the foreign policy of the English



FIG. 141.—General Kaufmann.

government. The United Kingdom was to become the British empire, and all parts of the great British world were to be strengthened against the aggressions of Russia. Disraeli maintained the integrity of the Ottoman empire and demanded the revision of the treaty of San Stefano ; he sent the Prince of Wales on an eight months' tour through Hindustan, and proclaimed the queen Empress of India. He demanded also that Shere Ali receive English residents into the three cities of Kabul, Herat, and Kandahar, and, when the ameer objected, despatched from Peshawur on September 21, 1878, a mission, which was, however, stopped on the frontier. As a Russian ambassador, General Stolgetoff, had appeared at Kabul the July previous, Disraeli (now Lord Beaconsfield), deeming

this a breach of the neutrality of Afghanistan, sent an ultimatum to the ameer; and without waiting for an answer, the English army, under General Browne, 34,000 strong, in November, 1878, began its advance. Russia, already isolated among the powers, as the events at the congress of Berlin had just shown, yielded in Afghanistan as well as at Berlin, and recalled its embassy. Shere Ali, thus abandoned, fled to the north, where shortly afterward he died. His son, Yakub Khan, who became his successor and England's protégé, betook himself to England's camp at Gundamak, between Jellalabad and Kabul, and there on May 5, 1879, signed a treaty whereby, in consideration of a yearly subsidy of £60,000, he consented to receive an English resident in Kabul and to cede what Beaconsfield called the "scientific frontier," that is, the possession of the passes of the Hindu Kush. Later events were to show that a "scientific frontier" had little influence on the hill-tribes of India. Scarcely had the resident, Sir Louis Cavagnari, entered on his post when on September 3, 1879, he and his staff were assassinated in a rising of the people of Kabul. The English troops fought their way to the city and caused several hundreds of the assassins to be hanged. Yakub Khan, convicted of complicity in the murders, was sent as a prisoner to India. The English found a friendly ameer in Abdurrahman, nephew of Shere Ali, who, by defeating the pretender, Ayub Khan, restored peace to Afghanistan. He continued this friendly policy till his death in 1901, and no change was made by the new ameer, Habibullah Khan, his eldest son.

Russia, checked for the moment, turned her attention to the conquest of the Turkomans, which proved to be a more difficult task than had been the absorption of the khanates of Khiva and Khokand. In 1879 Colonel Lomakine, advancing from Tchikislar on the Caspian, attempted to seize the fortress of Denghil-Tepe, but was compelled to retreat. The next year General Skobelev advanced anew and attacked Geok-Tepe, the principal fortress of the Turkomans. After a vigorous assault, the stronghold was taken and many thousands of the Turkomans killed. The next year the survivors voluntarily surrendered to the "white czar." Beyond the territory thus gained lay the oasis of Merv, where in 1883 Colonel Alikhanoff had appeared in disguise to negotiate commercial treaties with the old tribes. In consequence of this mission, Merv was occupied the next year by a Russian force; and the Russian frontier, by additions of surrounding territory, was brought dangerously near to Herat.

At this point the English intervened and demanded that the Russian frontier should not pass beyond Puli-Khatum, north of Penjdeh. After

an exchange of notes between London and St. Petersburg, it was finally agreed that neither Russian nor Afghan troops should advance into the debatable lands, and that a mixed commission should be sent to delimit the boundaries on the spot. The English commissioner, General Lumsden, made his appearance there in the autumn; but Russia, charging the British with aggressive operations in fortifying Herat and inciting the Afghans to attack Penjdeh, delayed the departure of her commission. When finally General Komaroff did advance, there resulted a bloody collision between his force and the Afghans at Kushk, March 30, 1885, in which the Afghans were badly defeated. Each government charged the other with being the aggressor, the Gladstone ministry maintaining that the Russians had violated the first rules of international courtesy. For a few months there was talk of war; but with the resignation of Gladstone and the entrance into power of the Conservatives, agreements were reached in 1885 and 1887, according to which Merutchak was left in the hands of the Afghans, and England agreed to Russia's occupation of Merv, Penjdeh, Kushk, and the Zulfikar pass. Lord Salisbury found some compensation for these concessions in Central Asia in the conquest and incorporation in fourteen days of the kingdom of Upper Burma, whereby a new and advantageous commercial route was opened to the Chinese frontier.

After a settlement had been reached in the Penjdeh convention the two rivals seemed, in the main, satisfied with their frontier. But trouble soon arose over the boundary of the Pamirs, that wide plateau where the three Asiatic empires meet. There the Russians appeared in 1891, and in 1892 defeated the Afghans in a battle at Somatash. The next year Colonel Yanoff, commander of the Russian forces, roused still further the wrath of England by excluding from the territory Captain Younghusband and Lieutenant Davidson, who were exploring the territory. For this act the Russian government was called upon to apologize, and in 1895 an Anglo-Russian commission was appointed to divide this territory between Afghanistan and Bokhara, each power acting for its particular client. The boundary was drawn from Lake Victoria to the Chinese frontier, giving to Bokhara the petty khanates of Shugnan and Roschan, to Afghanistan the khanate of Wakhan, and determining the exact point of junction of the Russian, British, and Chinese empires. "Here amidst a solitary wilderness," wrote Sir T. Holdich, the chief survey officer, "20,000 feet above sea-level, absolutely inaccessible to man, and within the ken of no living creature except the Pamir eagles, the three great empires actually meet." In 1897 General Kuropatkin, the recently appointed governor of Transcaspia, spoke of the Russian

PLATE XVIII.



Nasr-ed-din, late Shah of Persia.

policy in Asia as essentially a peaceful one, and of the southeastern boundary as "a stable and logical frontier" with which Russia was "perfectly satisfied." That this opinion did not entirely represent the views of the Russian government became evident in March, 1899, when the latter seized Sirikul in the Chinese Pamir, and thus gained control of the sources of the Kashgar and Yarkand rivers.

With the settlement of the Penjdeh and Pamir difficulties, Russia for the moment turned her attention to the industrial and commercial development of these regions in Central Asia. Through a ukase of June 23, 1886, in open contravention of article 59 of the Berlin treaty, she had converted Batum on the Black Sea into a naval harbor, to the fortifying of which she at once devoted all her energies. This harbor became the Russian port of entry for the Caucasus, through which goods were to be shipped by rail to the Caspian, thence by steamer across that sea, and into Central Asia by the new Transcaspian Railway, which had been extended to Merv in 1887, and, during the decade that followed, had been carried southward to Kushk and northeastwardly to Tashkend, with one branch to Andijan on the Chinese frontier and another to Bokhara. While this road was primarily military and strategic in origin, it became in a marvellously short space of time the instrument of a commercial revolution. Trade with Central Asia from India on one side and Russia on the other now sought entrance by way of Batum, and the old caravan-routes ceased to be utilized. The line to Kushk, which was thrown open to traffic, January, 1899, was not only of great value to commerce, but it made possible a through trip from London to the Afghan frontier in seven days. An all-British road from Alexandria was projected, and the line from Constantinople to the Persian Gulf was already in the hands of German concessionaries. Both roads were to have their eastern terminus at Koweit, a convenient shipping place on the Persian Gulf.

Russia's desire for an ice-free port and a commercial outlet on the Indian Ocean seemed likely of gratification through the growth of Russian influence in Persia. Since 1891 England and Russia had struggled for supremacy in that empire, and the latter power seemed to be slowly but unmistakably gaining ground. Though the shah, Nasr-ed-din (PLATE XVIII.), had endeavored to hold the balance even between the two countries, his attitude had been clearly favorable to Great Britain, to whom he had offered the loan of 1892, and to certain of whose capitalists he had desired to sell the tobacco monopoly the year before. This concession of the tobacco monopoly to England roused the wrath of the Persian people, and so serious were the riots which followed that the shah

was finally compelled to yield the point and withdraw the concession. These events, coupled with certain religious influences, had a tragic outcome. In 1896 the shah, while at prayers in a mosque, was assassinated by a fanatical *mollah* whose business had been threatened and whose zeal had been aroused by the prevailing discontent. Nasr-ed-din was succeeded by his second son, Muzafer-ed-din (Fig. 142), who, though seemingly interested in reforms, did practically nothing to improve the political



FIG. 142.—Muzafer-ed-din, Shah of Persia.

and economic conditions of the empire, which seemed steadily to grow worse.

Under the new shah, the rivalry between England and Russia became keener than ever. After the building of the Transcaspian Railway, and particularly after Moscow merchants and the Russian government had built a road from Resht on the Caspian to Teheran, Russian goods crowded out British in the markets and bazaars of Northern Persia. It was estimated in 1897 that in the two years since 1895 Russian imports had

increased 56 per cent., while British imports had fallen off 71 per cent. In 1898 Russia seemed well established in Persia: a loan which Persia wished to negotiate, and which apparently had been offered to England but refused, was taken up by Russia, even though she had to borrow the money in order to do so. This loan was completed in 1900, and was deemed not only an excellent financial undertaking, since it was secured by Persia's customs revenues, but also a very important political venture. Two years later another Persian loan was taken by Russia, and a commercial treaty between the two powers was signed granting her important advantages. Concessions for the building of roads and the establishment of branch-banks were granted the Russian Imperial Bank. But notwithstanding the aggressive policy of Russia, British influence continued dominant in southern Persia and on the Persian Gulf. In 1901 England took Mabarik, the sheikh of Koweit, under her protection, and defended him against the forces of the sultan, an act that was regarded by many as an open assertion of her claims. Two years later she obtained a new commercial treaty which superseded the old treaty of 1857. In the same year she declared that her ascendancy in this region was a matter of vital concern to her Indian Empire, and, immediately preceding Lord Curzon's spectacular visit to the Gulf, Lord Lansdowne announced that England would resist by all the means at her disposal the attempt of any other nation to establish itself in force on these shores.

In India, England had other problems to consider than those of boundaries. On January 1, 1877, Queen Victoria had been proclaimed Empress of India at Delhi, the old capital of the Mongols, in a *Darbar*, or assembly of the princes and potentates of the land. There were present 63 sovereigns, 300 Indian nobles, the governor-general of the Portuguese territories, the ambassadors of Nepal, Kashgar, Baluchistan, and large numbers of soldiers, with all the paraphernalia of parade. The government did not, however, introduce any new policy, but preserved that of 1858 and 1872, involving frontier annexations, the respecting of native rights, and the preservation of native states. In 1872 Lord Mayo had become Viceroy of India and had introduced a policy of further decentralization, coupled with greater administrative efficiency. In 1882 the dynasty of Mysore was restored, and efforts were made to organize more fully the eight great provinces of India, with due regard to the interests of the natives occupying them. Natives were employed on the same footing as the English in the departments of police, finances, and justice. Local councils were created, liberty of the press was allowed, and after 1886 an Indian National Congress, composed of Hindu

brahmins, met customarily each year in one of the great cities of India, to consider and present reforms and improvements in administration. These high-caste Hindu brahmins seemed to be loyal to the English government, but preserved intact their religion and customs. The mass of the people of lower-caste grades was made the subject of special legislation, to improve their condition and check practices that appeared to be specially barbarous. The government forbade infant murder in the Panjab, prohibited infant marriages in 1891, and made vaccination compulsory. It interdicted the employment of children less than fourteen years of age in manufactures, and limited the hours for women to eleven a day. It did something for schools, but at best was able to accomplish little, the masses of the people remaining ignorant. Perhaps its greatest task was to check the famines which from 1869 to 1904 had periodically appeared; in this it was only partly successful.

Frontier difficulties followed one after the other. The annexation of Burma, accomplished with too little regard for the sensibilities of the high-spirited Burmese, provoked mutiny after mutiny from 1885 to 1889. It was not until the end of the latter year that military was exchanged for civil rule and a peaceful administration was begun. The attempt to run a railroad through Burma to Kunlon in China roused the Chins, a mountain people on the border of Burma and India, and the uprising was with some difficulty suppressed. This conquest of Upper Burma brought England into contact with China on the east, just as the Penjdeh convention had brought her into contact with Russia on the northwest. This expansion made it necessary for Great Britain to overhaul the military defences of her Indian empire, to restock its outposts with military supplies, and to adopt a policy which demanded the submission of the frontier tribes. The Pathan tribes were subdued in 1891; in the extreme north a protectorate was established over Kashmir, and Gilghit was reduced to a British residency. In 1893 the mountainous Hunza and Nagar kingdoms were subdued and incorporated.

But more noteworthy still was the campaign in Chitral. In that little state in the mountain fastnesses of the Himalayas, the history of the succession had been a long tale of rivalry and assassinations. In the struggle following upon the assassination of the *mehhtar*, Nizam-ul-Mulk, in 1895, the British garrison was invested in the fort and cut off from all outside communication. After two unsuccessful attempts at relief an expedition of 16,000 men under General Low set out, and after three weeks of the most difficult marching and fighting, released the beleaguered garrison. Chitral passed into the hands of the English. A long discussion ensued as to whether it should be retained or not, as

the expense had been enormous, the expedition having cost more than £1,000,000. The Gladstone ministry decided to let it go; but the Salisbury ministry, which came into power in June, reversed this decision and maintained the "forward" policy. The immediate result was disastrous. Largely because of the occupation of the Hunza, Nagar, and Chitral regions, the tribes on the Afghanistan frontier rose in revolt in 1897. This was the most serious border struggle that had vexed India since the great mutiny, a force of 60,000 men being insufficient to restore order. The Indian National Congress protested against the repressive policy, and in 1899 the war was abandoned.



FIG. 143. Lord Curzon. (From a photograph by Elliott & Fry, London, England.)

In 1899 Lord Curzon (Fig. 143) went out as viceroy, and a new era in the administrative work of India began. With regard to the frontier, the costly schemes of defence were given up, troops were recalled from Chitral and other border regions, and a new policy was adopted, in order to save expenses and pacify the tribes. In a speech before the Legislative Council the viceroy outlined his policy as one of military concentration and of tribal conciliation. Accordingly, in 1901 the four trans-Indus districts of the Panjab were organized into the Northwest Frontier Province under an agent directly responsible to the Indian government. Two years later the long-standing difficulties with Tibet reached a crisis. The trouble arose because Tibet and China would not carry out the agreements of 1890 and 1893 in regard to trade, and

because of the designs of Russia in that region. In the summer of 1903 an expedition was sent out under Colonel Younghusband, which slowly pushed its way into Tibet in the face of the determined but ineffectual resistance of the Tibetans, and entered Lhasa (PLATE XVIII., A) in August, 1904. The treaty exacted by the Indian government provided for an indemnity, marts for mutual trade, the free entry of British goods, the rectification of the frontier, the exclusion of all foreign powers from the government of Tibet, and a stipulation that without the consent of Great Britain no Tibetan territory should be alienated.

In internal matters Lord Curzon, who was reappointed in 1904, was eminently successful. The natives were conciliated and every effort made to raise their material and moral condition. Great economic and industrial progress was made, and despite the heavy outlay of the relief work in connection with the famine and plague from 1901 to 1904, the financial status was excellent. Indeed the British occupation of India has accomplished remarkable material results. Railways, canals, and irrigation works of gigantic proportions have been built. The jungle has been swept away and everywhere agriculture and manufacturing prevail. But of all the developments in this line the most remarkable appear in the results of the great irrigation systems. Literally millions of acres have been brought under cultivation by this means, and thousands of India's vast population are now colonized and supported on land formerly inhabited by a few nomads. But in India, as in Egypt, British rule has not taught the people self-reliance or self-government, while the currency and tariff systems, the heavy burden of military defence, and the charges for government weigh down the people.

If to British statesmen the Indian empire was a problem, the French colonial possessions in Asia were to the statesmen of France no less a problem and an expense. The settlement of the French in this far corner of the world dated back to the days of the second empire, when Napoleon III. had acquired the provinces of Cochin China and Cambodia. When once possession had been secured, plans for expansion began to be formed; and in 1873 Jean Dupuis, a French merchant in China, attempted to open the Red River to French commerce. When the Annamites resisted, Admiral Dupré, commandant of the naval forces at Saigon, assaulted the city of Hanoi on November 20. Here the French came into contact for the first time with the Black Flags, the remnants of the old Chinese Tai-ping bands, who had set up a kind of independent robber-state in the delta of the Red River; and in a sortie from Hanoi, two French officers were killed (December, 1873).

The republic at this point entered into negotiations with the Annamite marshal, Nguyen Van Tong, and on March 15, 1874, signed the



Lhasa, Dominated by the Towering Bulk of the Ratna

From London (reprint of *The Potala Palace*, New York, Copyright, 1904, by The Potala Palace).
History of Tibet, Vol. II, p. 100.

treaty of Saigon, whereby it recognized the sovereignty and independence of the Emperor of Annam and promised to take his state under its protection. In return, the emperor, Tu Duc, confirmed the cession of Cochin China and promised to recognize the interests of France in all foreign relations. The Red River was opened to French commerce, and in August a treaty of commerce with France was formally signed. From 1875 to 1882 no outbreak occurred, but it gradually became evident that the position of France in Annam was acceptable neither to the Annamites nor to China. The latter power, through Marquis Tseng at Paris, protested against the treaty of 1874 as an infringement of her suzerain rights, and, asserting that France was meddling in Annam, encouraged the resistance of the court of Hué, aided by the Black Flags. The latter began to massacre Frenchmen in Tonquin. Then le Myre de Vilers, governor of Cochin China, sent Commandant Rivière, who captured Hanoi on April 25, 1882. The next year, Rivière, attempting to conquer the delta, was shut up in Hanoi by the Black Flags, and in a sortie was slain. Immediately the Ferry ministry despatched Admiral Courbet with a squadron, bearing 4000 men under General Bonet. First the forts at the mouth of the Hué River were captured, and Emperor Hiep Hoa, the successor of Tu Duc, was forced to sign a treaty, August 25, 1883. Then the war was carried into the north against the Black Flags reinforced by Chinese regulars. On December 16, 1883, Admiral Courbet stormed Sontai, just north of Hanoi; and the March following, General Millot assaulted Bac-ninh. After the French had made themselves masters of the whole delta by the capture of Hanoi, the Chinese acquiesced in the treaty of Tientsin of May 11, 1884, which opened three frontier provinces to French trade and bound China to conclude within three months a commercial treaty with France. This treaty, taken in conjunction with a new one signed on June 6 by Kien Phuoc, the successor of Hiep Hoa, who had been poisoned, and a third concluded with King Norodom of Cambodia on June 17, seemed to put an end to hostilities.

But this proved not to be the case. In execution of the treaty of Tientsin, General Millot sent Lieutenant-Colonel Dugenne with two battalions to occupy Lang-son; but this expedition found the way barred at Bac-le by Chinese regulars, and was forced to retreat. This behavior the French characterized as treachery and breach of compact, and demanded 250,000,000 francs as indemnity. When China refused this demand, Admiral Courbet bombarded Foo chow on the Chinese coast, destroyed the arsenal there, and captured Kelong on the island of Formosa. In Tonquin further successes were obtained by Brûlé de l'Isle,

the successor of Millot, in consequence of which the French occupied Lang-son and freed the Chinese frontier. The difficulties of this expedition and a reported check at Lang-son led to the fall of the Ferry ministry in France on March 30, 1885. But the war was, in fact, about over. On the very day when Ferry resigned, negotiations had been begun which led to the signing of a preliminary peace on terms similar to those of Tientsin, and on June 9 was signed the definitive treaty whereby China abandoned all pretensions to a suzerainty over Tonquin and Annam, promised to accord commercial privileges to France, and granted to French engineers preferential rights in the promotion of public works in the southern provinces.

But the contest with the Black Flags was not yet ended. In February, 1890, the bands of Doc Sung and Thanh Dhuat were pursued in Bac-ninh, and in March the Doi-vo was killed, thus freeing the province from a dangerous brigand. The successes of the French made possible the introduction of a civil régime, represented by a resident-general and later by a governor-general of Indo-China, charged with the administration of Cochin China and Tonquin and of the protectorates of Cambodia and Annam. De Lanessan, governor from 1888 to 1894, pursued a conciliatory policy, seeking the co-operation of the native authorities. During his governorship, trouble arose with the King of Siam, Chu-la-long Korn. Lanessan had sent troops to take possession of Stung-treng and the island of Kong in the Mekong below Bassak, claiming that the French control extended to that river. Blood was shed by the Siamese, and the French government at once despatched three gunboats under Admiral Rumann up the Menam to Bangkok on July 13, with an ultimatum demanding full indemnity and the surrender of the entire left bank of the Mekong. After long negotiation, in which the French seemed excessively aggressive, a treaty was signed on October 3, whereby Siam abandoned all claims to the left bank of the Mekong. Negotiations were afterward set on foot between Great Britain and France, looking to the settlement of the boundary between Upper Burma and Tonquin, and a mixed commission was appointed to delimit a buffer-state which each agreed should be erected as a neutral zone between their possessions in the north.

De Lanessan was recalled in 1894, and a policy of force adopted which led in 1895 to renewed conflicts with the Black Flags, who attacked vessels, interfered with railroad construction, and carried off individuals for ransom. In 1897 all the French colonies in Farther India were placed under the control of a civil governor-general, assisted by a colonial secretary mainly for Tonquin, a lieutenant-governor for

Cochin China, and residents for Annam, Cambodia, and Laos. In 1902 friction with Siam over border territory and other matters led to a convention with that state which was highly favorable to France. The colonies were being rapidly opened to commerce and trade, railroads were being built and projected to connect the important centres of the interior with the seaports. In the latter, notably at Touron and Saigon, modern improvements in the way of sanitary regulation, water-works, and deep-water harbors have been established. Financially, although not self-supporting, the colonies were quite successful, the rapid industrial and commercial development having brought wealth and prosperity.

While England was reaching the Chinese frontier through Burma, and France through Tonquin, Russia was extending her area of occupied territory on the north. For two centuries that power had neglected her Siberian provinces in order to concentrate her forces against her western enemies; but the Crimean war had forced her to look to the east, where the governor of Eastern Siberia, General Muravieff, had been laboring during the years 1854 to 1856. Muravieff had defended Petropavlovsk against the allied English and French fleet, had sent three exploring expeditions down the Amur, and had established stations on its banks. The fall of Sebastopol and the treaty of Paris turned Russia's attention to his work, and on May 16, 1858, a convention was signed at Aigun with China, whereby the Amur region was ceded to Russia. Muravieff, who was now created Count Amurski, continued his exertions, and moved southward into the region of the Ussuri in search of more southerly ports. Taking advantage of China's perplexity, for that power was involved in the Tai-ping rebellion and was confronted by the fleets of France and England, he occupied Vladivostok on July 20, 1860, and on November 2 practically compelled China to cede the Ussuri frontier to Russia, thus cutting off Manchuria from the Pacific. In 1872 Vladivostok was made the Russian naval station in the east; for, closed as it was by ice only a few months in the year, it was a freer port than Nikolaevsk. For the time being, Vladivostok became Russia's long-desired outlet on the open sea, the terminus of her eastward expansion. Her territory now extended to the frontier of Korea. But the disadvantages were still great, as Vladivostok was not an ice-free port and could be reached only by a long detour by way of the Amur and Ussuri rivers.

The acquiring of Vladivostok and the Amur and Ussuri territory brought into prominence the question of communication. Transit across Siberia was by caravan and postal routes, and a great postal road traversed it from west to east. With the introduction of steam navigation

on the Ob and Yenisei rivers, projects were discussed for the digging of connecting canals, many of which were constructed. The value of this river-traffic was increased by the opening of the Arctic navigation in 1878, and then it was that the first plans for railways, which had been more or less talked about since 1860, were brought to perfection. In 1878 a line starting from Perm was begun, and in 1884 was extended to Tiumen, thus connecting the Volga and the Ob rivers. This road was built simply for the purpose of utilizing the Siberian rivers. Gradually the idea spread of extending one of the existing Russian lines eastward into Siberia for the purpose of developing the latter's resources, strategical and commercial considerations for the moment being of secondary importance. On February 21, 1891, the Russian government decided to extend the Zlatoust-Mias line across the Ural Mountains to Tchelabinsk, and on March 17 issued the famous imperial rescript authorizing the construction of the Siberian Railway from Tchelabinsk to Vladivostok. On May 12 the czarévitch (later Czar Nicholas II.) laid the first stone.

The road was to be built in seven sections: one from Tchelabinsk to the river Ob, the second from the river Ob to Irkutsk, the third from Irkutsk to Mysovaya around Lake Baikal, the fourth from Mysovaya to Strietensk, the fifth from Strietensk to Kabarovski along the Amur, the sixth from Kabarovski to Graphska, and the seventh thence to Vladivostok up the Ussuri. In order to hasten the work, the first, second, and seventh sections were begun at once; then the sixth and fourth were taken up, while the construction of the most difficult portions, around Lake Baikal and down the Amur, was postponed because they covered a region where steamers could be used temporarily for purposes of transportation. In August, 1898, the first train reached Irkutsk, and in the same year trains were run from Vladivostok to Kabarovski. After long discussion it was decided that the circum-Baikalian line should be constructed, but that the fifth portion of the road, down the Amur, should be indefinitely postponed. On December 28, 1899, the last rails were laid on the fourth or trans-Baikalian section, thus completing for the time being the plan adopted in 1891, and the line was opened to traffic on February 4, 1900. The newly finished portion ran from Lake Baikal to Strietensk, a distance of 693 miles, from which point to Kabarovski the river route continued to be used. The change in the original plan was due in part to the great difficulties of the undertaking, but in greater part to the fact that in the meantime a shorter route to Vladivostok had been obtained. Just as the Crimean war interested Russia in the Amur region, and the Tai-ping rebellion and the war of China with England and France made possible the an-

PLATE XIX.



Li Hung Chang.

nexation of Amur and Ussuri, so the war between China and Japan in 1894 and 1895 brought to Russia her first opportunity to gain control of Manchuria and Port Arthur, and made possible the construction of a short line to a new and more open port on the Pacific. The careers of China and Japan and the causes of this war must now claim our attention.

With the overthrow of the East India Company's monopoly of trade at Canton in 1834, with the opium war with Great Britain from 1840 to 1842, and with the treaty of Nanking, August 20, 1842, whereby five ports—Canton, Amoy, Foo-chow, Ning-po, and Shanghai—were opened to British trade, and Hong-kong ceded to England, China's relations with the western world may be said to begin. Two years afterward trade treaties were also made with France and the United States. But infraction of treaty rights and the seizure by the Chinese of the lorch "Arrow" in 1856 brought on a second war with Great Britain, in which France, on account of the murder of some French missionaries, took part as an ally. The position of China was rendered the more insecure because of the Tai-ping rebellion, which had broken out in 1850 under Hung-siu-tsuen, who styled himself the "heavenly king," and for fifteen years had dragged on its murderous course until suppressed in the interest of civilization by the efforts of Colonel (afterward General) Gordon in 1865. The war with England and France, which lasted from 1857 to 1858, resulted in the capture of Canton and in the treaties of Tientsin, to one of which the United States, who had endeavored to act as a mediator in the war, became a party on June 18, 1858. Further infractions of the treaties led to the continuation of the war, until in 1860, by the treaty of Peking, the former treaty was ratified and further concessions made. This war opened Peking to the legations of the foreign powers and led to the creation of the Tsung-li-Yamên (Chinese Foreign Office) for the purpose of transacting business with the foreign representatives and of taking charge of China's international relations generally. Representatives of the powers were now officially established at Peking, and in 1868 Anson Burlingame, the ambassador of the United States, led a Chinese embassy to the west on a visit to the treaty powers.

In February, 1873, the young Emperor Tung Chi, having reached his seventeenth year, assumed the reins of government. Since 1861, when the Emperor Hien Fung had died, the rule had been in the hands of the Empress-Dowager Tze Hsi, born November 17, 1834. During these years and afterward, in conjunction with her chief ally and adviser, Li Hung Chang (PLATE XIX.)—a pure-blooded Chinaman, not a Manchur, as

was the empress—she had been the power behind the throne. When on January 12, 1875, the young emperor died, a regency was erected consisting of the two empress-dowagers, Tsi Ngan, empress of the east, the true wife of Hien Fung, and Tze Hsi, empress of the west, mother of the late emperor, to govern during the minority of the new Emperor Kwang Su, at that time but four years old. Tsi Ngan died in 1881, and this left Tze Hsi sole regent; and as she was the aunt of the young emperor, her influence from this time forward steadily increased.

The murder of Margary, interpreter for Colonel Horace Browne, who had been charged by Lord Salisbury to act in conjunction with the legation at Peking and the government in India in delimiting the Burmese frontier, brought up a difficult diplomatic complication in 1875. Finally, after war had seemed imminent for a time, a convention was signed at Chi-fu on September 13, 1876, whereby an indemnity of 200,000 taels was allowed, important consular and diplomatic concessions granted, and exceedingly valuable commercial privileges conferred on Great Britain. With the treaty of Chi-fu the influence of the British government was greatly extended and its commerce placed on a more secure footing. It received rights of exploration and examination into the resources of China and a limited right of entry to interior ports. Now for the first time did China send embassies to the western world; the presence of the Marquis Tseng at Paris has already been noted in connection with the aggressions of France in Annam. With Russia, China had already had a number of quarrels, since the days of the cession of the Amur and Ussuri regions, over frontier questions, notably at Ili, Kuldjha, Kashgar, and Yarkand, on the far western boundary. The Kuldjha difficulty nearly led to war in 1881, but this was happily averted through the skill of Marquis Tseng, who succeeded in keeping for China the greater part of the contested territory.

The rise of modern Japan began with the visit of Commodore Perry in 1853, when the Shogun yielded to the demands of Perry and the representatives of the other powers and consented to open Yokohama, Hakodadi, and other ports to the trade of the western powers. He even sent embassies to the United States and Europe in 1860 and 1861. The doubtful sincerity of this act was disclosed by the little war of 1863, when certain daimios fired on ships of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Holland, and the powers bombarded Shimonoseki. This event hastened the revolution of 1868, which resulted in the deposition of the Shogun Keiki, the temporal emperor and virtual sovereign, and enabled the Emperor Mutsuhito to take the reins of government into his own hands.



Fig. 144.—Mutsuhito, Emperor of Japan.

(Courtesy of Collier's Weekly.)

From this time forward, Japan made amazingly rapid progress. During the years that followed, the old feudal system was abolished, the finances of the government were put on a sound footing, and the gold standard adopted in 1897; railroads were constructed, mines located and worked, telegraph-lines set in operation, hospitals, lighthouses, and ship-yards built, and scientific forestry and agricultural methods introduced. Besides these improvements, taxation was revised, Buddhism was abolished as the state religion, a complete educational system established, and a coast survey set on foot, while a judicial system based on western ideas was created and codification of the laws was begun. Finally in 1889, after twenty years' consideration of the matter, a parliamentary constitution was adopted, and a government was erected consisting of a House of Peers and a House of Representatives, forming the Imperial Diet, somewhat after the Prussian model. After 1890 Japan enjoyed all the amenities of a parliamentary régime in true western fashion, except that she was saved from the exigencies of party government because her ministers were removable at the will of the emperor. The Japanese adapted themselves with extraordinary facility to parliamentary life. Stenographic reports, government journals, daily papers, long speeches, parties, committees, caucuses characterized Japanese legislative methods. Between 1890 and 1900, fourteen meetings of the diet were held, the diet itself being dissolved by the emperor five times, and suspended six times because of "unreasonable opposition." During that period no House of Representatives served out its full term. In 1899 Japan was placed on an international equality with the other powers, and the special jurisdiction of the consular courts was abolished.

This promotion brought a new power into the international world and gave zest to the reorganization and enlargement of the Japanese army and navy, which was begun two years after the war with China. Planned after the German system, the Japanese army was organized on a uniform system on the basis of conscription. All males of the age of twenty are liable to serve in the standing army for seven years, three of which are spent in active service and the remaining four in the army of reserve. After this they form part of the *landwehr* for another five years; while every male between the age of seventeen and forty who is not enrolled in the line, the reserve, or the *landwehr*, must belong to the *landsturm*, which is called into service in times of unusual emergency. In harmony with the growing national spirit, all supplies, fire-arms, ordnance, and ammunition are manufactured at the arsenals of Tokio and Osaka. But it is the development of Japan's navy that constitutes one of the most important elements in the international politics of the Far

East. Already efficient and handled with much skill in the war against China, it was subsequently developed into one of the most formidable navies of the world. An extensive shipbuilding programme was adopted, involving the building and purchase of many battleships and cruisers and about one hundred torpedo craft. This was further supplemented by a programme for the eleven years from 1904 to 1913, involving over ninety-nine million yen. Considerable opposition was aroused in the Diet in 1902 because of a land tax to meet the extra naval expenses, but the emperor and the ministry were determined, and the opposition was soon lost in the wave of patriotism aroused by Russian aggression in Manchuria and Korea. The economic conditions during the last years of the century appeared less favorable. The payment of the war indemnity by China had caused speculation, unsound financiering and luxury, and had roused grave apprehensions. But the difficulties were on the surface rather than at the base of Japan's economic institutions, and the increase of home industries, inflow of foreign capital, the development of her resources, and greater temperateness and economy in business gradually overcame these fears. In 1901 she had been unable to float a loan of \$50,000,000 in the United States; in 1902 she found no difficulty in securing the amount in England. In this and the following year her financial statement showed a surplus, and in 1904, during the war with Russia, her credit continued remarkably good; not only were her foreign loans promptly taken, but her domestic loans were subscribed many times over.

For centuries the relations between Japan and Korea had been somewhat those of lord and vassal, though the relationship had been frequently interrupted. It is not surprising that after her own political resuscitation Japan should have desired to reform her hermit neighbor. Korea had become chiefly known to the western world for its hatred of strangers. France had intervened in 1866 and destroyed Kang-hoa in revenge for the murder of members of the Roman Catholic mission, and the United States in 1871 sent a fleet to Korea and seized the Kang-hoa forts as a punishment for the murder of the men of the vessel *General Sherman* in 1866. Neither expedition succeeded in accomplishing anything of importance, the Koreans remaining as insolent as ever, and resolutely refusing to open their ports. What the United States and France had demanded in vain, Japan was able to obtain at the first attempt. In January, 1876, she despatched an embassy to Korea and persuaded that government to sign at Kang-hoa a treaty on February 26, whereby the independence of Korea was guaranteed and the opening of ports to trade promised. This treaty was modified by later arrangements made in 1877, 1882, and 1883; but

during the same time China, who claimed full rights of suzerainty over Korea, took possession of three Korean ports, refusing to allow Japan to supplant her in her claims. A double embassy, Japanese and Chinese, was now established in Korea, and on September 4, 1884, a revolution broke out in the capital city, Seoul. The Japanese legation was burned and many Japanese were murdered. By the convention of Tientsin in 1885 between China, represented by Li Hung Chang, and Japan, represented by Marquis Ito, the latter obtained from China recognition of equal rights in Korea.

For the next ten years Japan's influence steadily increased, notably in matters pertaining to industry and commerce. Japanese bankers and merchants obtained important concessions regarding trade and the issue of loans, which aroused in the peninsula a feeling of bitter hostility to Japan. Two parties arose: one the conservative, supported by China; the other the progressive, upheld by Japan. The treaty of Tientsin prevented any outbreak between the two countries for nine years; but the crisis came in 1894 with the rebellion of the Tong-Haks, a religious sect in Korea, which threatened to overthrow the Korean government. Korea turned to China for aid, and the Chinese government sent 2000 men. But Japan, claiming equal rights, despatched 10,000 men and seized the Korean capital, Seoul. Both countries refused to retire: China claiming that Korea was a vassal state and that she was there at Korea's request; Japan insisting that Korea was independent and demanding that, in order to prevent further rebellion, reforms should be introduced at once. China's claims were undoubtedly genuine, but Japan's diplomacy was the shrewder. Furthermore, Japan was not only in possession of the capital and had the more powerful military force, but the policy of her government was upheld by the Japanese nation. China and Korea resisted reform, but Japan was determined and drafted a programme. In July, 1894, events moved rapidly. The Korean government ordered the Japanese to retire; Japan refused and gave Korea three days in which to accept reforms peaceably. When the time had expired, Japan attacked the king's palace, seized the king's person, and began to remodel the government in the king's name. A Japanese squadron on July 25 attacked and defeated Chinese men-of-war convoying transports, and brutally sank the *Kowshing* with 1200 men; on July 29 a Japanese land force attacked the Chinese at the fortified city of Asan and drove them back with serious loss: two victories which disclosed the organizing and fighting powers of the Japanese.

On August 1 China and Japan simultaneously issued declarations of

war, but the two countries met the occasion very differently : Japan was eager for the war, well equipped, and in admirable training ; China, gloomy and despondent, was averse to the war, was in dire want of military preparation, and in worse need of efficient leadership and modern methods of management. Japan opened the campaign by a naval demonstration in August before Port Arthur and Wei-hai-wei to cover the landing of troops which she was pouring into Korea, and from September 11 to 15 fought the first battle at Ping-yang, where a desperate struggle ended in the capture of Ping-yang, the strongest city in Korea, and the retirement of the Chinese beyond the Yalu, the



FIG. 115.—Map of the China-Japan War.

boundary river between China and Korea. The peninsula was in the hands of the Japanese. In co-operating with the land force, the fleet under Admiral Ito attacked at Hai-yang island a Chinese squadron conveying troops to the Yalu, and on September 17 fought the only considerable naval battle of the war and one of the most remarkable that had up to that time occurred in the history of modern warfare. It was also the first prolonged fight between modern ironclad battle-ships. The Chinese were defeated with a loss of four battle-ships, a third of their force, and Japan had the glory of being the first of the powers to win a victory with armored vessels. This victory of the sea-power

aided greatly the land-power. The Japanese now, on October 24, crossed the Yalu and invaded Manchuria. Steadily they drove the Chinese before them, capturing Fung-huang-cheng; while a second division, landing at Hua-yuan River, captured Chin-chow with the aid of the fleet, November 7, and on the 21st seized Port Arthur with its valuable machinery and docks—the best dockyard in the Far East. The campaign in Manchuria was carried on in the midst of intense cold and snow, and resulted in a fierce battle at Kang-wa-sai, December 19, and the capture of Hai-cheng. More important still was the attack on Weihai-wei by the naval force and the capture of that important seaport, February 20, 1895. In this encounter the Pei-yang squadron was destroyed. In the meantime, China sued for peace; but as her first envoys had not been invested with full powers, the war was continued. Niu-chwang was taken on March 4, and with this victory the way to Peking was open and China lay at the mercy of her conqueror. After negotiations, during which an attack on Li Hung Chang, the plenipotentiary, on Japanese soil, distinctly humbled Japan and made easier the terms of peace, the treaty of Shimonoseki was signed, April 17, 1895. According to this treaty the independence of Korea was recognized and China promised to cede to Japan Liao-tung peninsula with Port Arthur, the Pescadores islands, and the island of Formosa, paying also an indemnity of 200,000,000 taels (\$150,000,000) and granting to Japan new and important commercial advantages.

The effect of the war upon the world at large was to alter all the views previously held regarding China. Before 1894 that empire had a reputation for military strength and capacity for endurance that had made the nations chary of war with her. But the Japanese victory destroyed these beliefs and showed that not only was Japan the superior power, but that China's military sagacity was a mere tale, her administration corrupt, her navy strong only on paper, and her soldiers—who were brave indeed, but badly trained and badly led—hardly a menace. This discovery was made at a time when China was gradually being surrounded by the powers: France and England on the south, Russia on the north, and Japan on the east. By the treaty of Shimonoseki, Japan had actually begun the partition of the empire by seizing portions of its territory. This Russia, with the desire of a free port and free development on the Pacific, refused to permit, particularly as the presence of Japan in Korea and Manchuria promised to be a check to the progress that she had been making in the East for fifty years. Russia needed Manchuria, Japan did not; and no sooner had the treaty been signed than Russia, France, and Germany in a joint note demanded that Japan waive that

part of the treaty which provided for the surrender of Port Arthur and the Liao-tung peninsula and be content with a larger money indemnity. To this demand Japan was compelled to submit. This "unholy alliance," as the Japanese called it, by aiding China in this emergency, was also laying bases for demands of compensation by Russia, France, and Germany later, inasmuch as China was profoundly grateful to the powers who had expelled the Japanese from the neighborhood of her capital. The immediate gains were, however, not large: amounting merely to a loan made to China in 1895 by Russia on her own terms, and concessions made by China to France in Kwangsi and Yunnan, the two Chinese provinces north of the Tonquin frontier; but the alliance substituted Russia for China as Japan's great rival in the Far East, and added one more grievance to those which Russia had given Japan since the Saghalien-Kurile exchange in 1875.

During the years from 1895 to 1897, China did nothing to raise herself from the low estate into which she had fallen, and was rapidly approaching a still greater crisis in her career. Germany had not as yet disclosed her policy, but she had not co-operated with Russia and France without purpose, and her imperial programme contained a chapter on China as well as those which we have already considered on Asia Minor and Africa. As early as 1890 the imperial government of Germany had taken under its protection the Roman Catholic missions in Shantung, so that when on November 1, 1897, two missionaries, Nies and Ziegler, of the mission at Yen-chau-fu, were murdered, it was ready to take advantage of this opportunity to obtain privileges that concerned not merely the missionaries, but trade and commerce also. On November 14, Admiral Diedrichs, with two German men-of-war, entered the harbor of Kiao-chau and gave the commandant forty-eight hours in which to evacuate the place in reparation for the crime. Not content with compensation in matters of religion and money indemnity, Germany demanded the lease of Kiao-chau for fifty years. Though this demand greatly angered the Chinese, it was granted on January 5, 1898, and thus Germany obtained a sphere of influence in the province of Shantung and the Yellow River valley, and during the year that followed took every occasion to impress upon the Chinese emperor and government the greatness of the German name. That Germany had made the desired impression seemed likely in May, 1898, when, contrary to all precedent, Prince Henry, then on a vice-regal visit to China, was accorded personal and private interviews with the emperor.

But no sooner had Germany scored these successes than Russia presented her demand, and on March 27, 1898, China leased to the latter

power Port Arthur and Ta-lien-wan, together with the adjacent seas, as necessary, the treaty said, for the due protection of the Russian navy in the waters of North China. The loan was to last for twenty-five years, but was to be extended by mutual agreement. With the lease went the right to connect these two ports with the main Siberian Railway by means of branch lines, including a branch line to the most suitable point on the coast between Niu-chwang and the Yalu River. As Russia had already obtained permission to extend her railway through Manchuria to Vladivostok, this new arrangement meant such a shortening of the Siberian Railway as to render totally unnecessary the building of the Amur section. When Katharina Harbor, near the Norwegian coast, destined by the Russian government to be the ice-free naval port of the extreme north, should be connected with the Russian system of railways, the Muscovite empire would possess from that point to Port Arthur the longest continuous railroad under a single government in the world.

With Germany and Russia satisfied, France, the third member of the alliance, came forward with her demands. In April, 1898, she received the lease of the port of Kwang-chow, one of the best ports of the province of Kwangtung, and obtained a certain right of pre-emption in Yunnan, with the promise that China would not cede the island of Hainan to any other power. These successes of the members of the triple alliance aroused Great Britain, whose struggles in the Sudan had drawn her attention for the moment away from China and her time-honored influence there. On July 1, 1898, a convention was signed by Sir Claude Macdonald and Prince Ching, whereby the port of Wei-hai-wei and all the islands and waters of the port, together with a district ten miles in width around the bay, were leased to Great Britain for twenty-five years. China also promised Great Britain that no territory in the Yang-tse valley should be alienated to another power, and that the head of maritime customs, at that time Sir Robert Hart, should be an Englishman.

By all these leases the sovereignty of China had been in no way impaired, and none of the powers, except Russia in the case of Manchuria, had obtained more than a political control over a few ports. A partition of China may have been portended by these demands, but such an event could come to pass only in the very remote future. More interesting even than the holding of harbors on lease, as indicating the relations of the powers to each other and their spheres of interest in China, were the many concessions of railroad, mining, and other franchises made by China during this period to foreigners: Russians, Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, Belgians, and Americans; franchises

of which China understood the full value, and which she did not give away without important reservations in the way of shares of revenue and reversion of plant. Notwithstanding the hard bargain that China often drove, it was estimated in 1898 that concessions had been granted involving an expenditure of \$100,000,000, an amount which by 1900 had been increased greatly, and that, too, in the face of the moral degeneracy of Chinese officials and the known instability of the administration. The enormous commercial possibilities of the country and its great mineral resources were sufficient, however, in these instances to overcome the timidity of capital. Though in the main the concessions made to Russians were in the north, those made to Germans in the province of Shantung and along the Yellow River, and those made to the French in the south, yet the so-called spheres were not absolutely exclusive. France and Russia upheld the Belgian syndicate's control of the great line from Peking to Hankow, while the influence of Great Britain seemed limited to no particular territorial sphere. That government had received for itself specific concessions, and, although by the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1899 it granted full recognition of all Russia's rights to railway concessions north of the Great Wall, it possessed, by the Anglo-French convention of 1896, a joint enjoyment with France of Szechuan and Yunnan, and, by the Anglo-German agreement of 1898, a share in the railway concessions in Shantung and the Yellow River region. As a government, the United States tried to obtain neither territorial interest nor political influence. American capitalists, it is true, had secured the right to build the great trunk-line from Canton to Hankow, but even this concession had been made over in 1901 to the Belgian syndicate, so that the whole road from Peking to Canton seemed likely to fall under Franco-Russian control. The American government contented itself with securing purely commercial advantages. In 1900, Secretary Hay (Fig. 146), by a statesmanlike diplomatic manoeuvre, obtained from France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Russia, and Japan what appeared to be a guaranty of the "open door" policy—that is, equal commercial treatment of all—within their so-called spheres of interest and leased territories, though Russia, by her declaration of March, made important reservations in favor of her own merchants.

The defeat of China in 1894-95 had aroused within the empire a party of reformers, who, in their desire to introduce western ideas and methods, stood opposed to the reactionary or conservative element, which bitterly resented all changes and desired to preserve the old traditions and forms of government. The situation was complicated by the dis-

honesty of statesmen, the obligations incurred in the recent treaties and leases, and the hatred which had been aroused, notably since the seizure of Kiao-chau by the German government, against foreigners. In 1875 the Emperor Kwang Su, then but four years old, had been placed upon the throne, but until 1889 the government had been carried on by the Empress-Dowager Tze Hsi. Even after the accession of Kwang Su, the empress-dowager had continued to hold in her hands the reins of government. The emperor, studiously inclined,

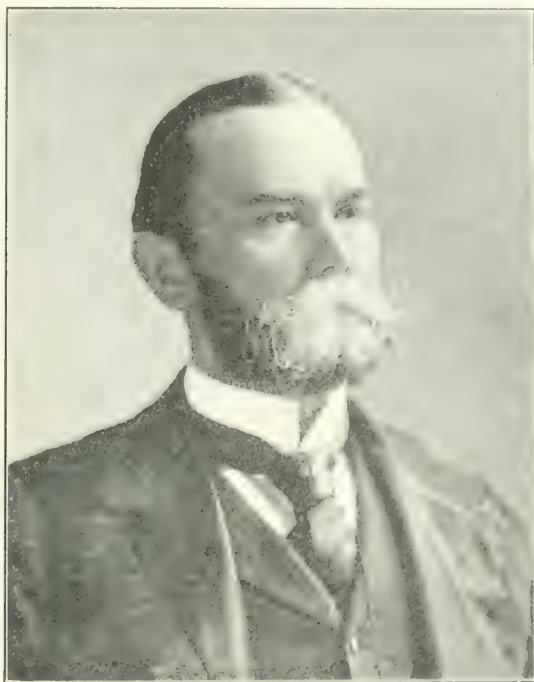


FIG. 146.—John Hay. (From a photograph by 1901 Washington, D. C.)

was influenced by a body of young reformers, leaders among whom were Kang Yen Wei, Wen Tun Ho, the emperor's tutor, Chang Yen Wan, former minister to the United States, and Chang Chih Tung, viceroy of Hunan and Hupeh, whose "Essays on Exhortation to Study" had begun the reform movement. On the whole, the reformers leaned toward England and Japan and desired the adoption of Japanese modifications of western institutions. On January 29, 1898, the emperor issued the first reform edict, and until August continued to issue in succession others, in all numbering some hundreds. These

edicts, which pointed to a policy of complete change, were welcomed by the enlightened Chinese and by the better-educated element among the people; but they waked dismay and anger among the conservatives, leaders of whom were the empress-dowager and the reactionary Manchus at Peking. The reform edicts abolished the system of literary essays which had formed the main examination-test for public office, and substituted practical papers on modern topics. They authorized the sending of members of the imperial house to Japan to study, the establishment of a university at Peking, together with schools in the lesser towns and colleges in the provincial capital, and even a medical college and mining schools. They created committees to investigate matters relating to the army and navy, railroads and engineering, manufactures and trade, agriculture and scientific farming. And, most serious innovations of all, these edicts reformed the civil procedure, abolished official sinecures, notably the Six Boards, and demanded a stricter auditing system, whereby the peculation of local officials might be stopped and the income of the government increased. And to support his policy the emperor even started a paper in Shanghai, which was to contain translations of western laws and to expose abuses. But the period of his personal and reforming rule was a brief one. In the *coup d'état* of September 22, 1898, the empress-dowager, who had retained the power of appointment and dismissal, on the ground of the illness of the emperor in whose name she acted, overthrew the reforming ministry, restored the regency, and rescinded the edicts. Wen Tun Ho had been disgraced some months before and was safe in retirement, and Kang Yeu Wei, warned by the emperor, succeeded in making his escape; but eight of the reformers were executed. During October all the reform movements were stopped, the Six Boards reinstated, the essay system and calligraphy resumed, reform societies and newspapers abolished. The emperor was imprisoned in his palace, and a reactionary and strongly anti-foreign régime was established at Peking. Though the imperial edicts announced that the reform policy was only postponed, and the empress-dowager herself was reported as favoring a moderate reform, nevertheless the victory of the reactionary party at the close of the year 1898 seemed complete. The supremacy of the empress-dowager, the steadily increasing hatred for the foreigners, which had assumed serious proportions since the powers, led by Germany, had begun to invade Chinese territory and to control the finest harbors on the Chinese coast, the competition of the various governments for concessions, a rivalry that amounted almost to a mania, characterized the year 1899.

In January, 1900, the emperor—who, though married for eleven

years, was childless—appointed as heir-apparent Po Ching, nine years old, the son of Prince Tuan, most important of the Manchu chiefs, first cousin of the emperor and one of the special favorites of the empress-dowager. By this act the emperor seemed to confirm the position of the reactionaries and the supremacy of the Manchus. On February 7, 1900, the empress-dowager completed the work of reaction by decreeing the restoration of the old methods of study according to Confucius for all examinations for official rank, and ordering the abolition of the studies of the “new, depraved, and erroneous subjects of the western schools.”

During February and March, 1900, the anti-foreign and anti-reform attitude of the Chinese government became more and more pronounced, as one after another of those connected with the reformers or with any foreign enterprises were imprisoned or disgraced. About the same time came reports of a movement among the members of China's most secret society, the Boxers, as they were called. In May and June this movement assumed startling proportions and disclosed a depth of hatred for foreigners that had hitherto been largely unsuspected. Though anti-foreign riots had been occurring for forty years, nothing of so general and extraordinary a character as this had ever taken place before. Massacre after massacre followed each other with frightful rapidity in the province of Pe-chili, and finally on May 20 the representatives of the foreign governments made a formal demand for the punishment of those officially concerned in the movement. This demand not being complied with, the ministers summoned from Taku the marine guards of the American, French, Russian, Japanese, Italian, and British legations, numbering in all about 340 men, but insufficiently provided with arms and possessing no machine-guns. Scarcely had they arrived when Peking was surrounded by Boxers, and intercourse with Tientsin by rail was cut off. There was plenty of evidence to show that not only were the Chinese regular troops fraternizing with the rioters, but that the Peking government was in sympathy with the outbreak, and the long-pent-up hatred of the foreigner and his desecration of Chinese superstitions and traditions found vent in scenes of horrible cruelty.

As Peking became isolated from the world and the seriousness of the situation was realized, the allied authorities rapidly hurried troops to the scene of action. Japan ordered a division to Taku in June; the United States despatched a contingent from the Philippines and started additional troops from America; Russia forwarded men from Port Arthur and Vladivostok; France from Indo-China; and Great Britain a company of white soldiers and a full division of Sikhs, Bengalese,

Pathans, and Baluchese from India. On June 10 a force of 2000 men under the command of Admiral Sir Edward Seymour (Fig. 147) left Tientsin. After considerable difficulty this relief force reached Lang-fang, forty miles from Peking, but there was checked. As the Boxers were working their way to the rear between Lang-fang and Tientsin, it began to look as if the expedition would itself be cut off; and it doubtless would have been, but for the interference of the fleet. On June 16 the allied naval commanders despatched an ultimatum demanding the disbandment of the troops in the Taku forts. When in reply the forts opened fire on the ships of the allied squadron, a bombardment was



FIG. 147.—Admiral Seymour. (From a photograph by Maull & Fox, London, England.)

begun which ended in the capture of the forts and the landing of large numbers of men and the despatching of 8000 soldiers to Tientsin for the protection of that city and the relief of the Seymour expedition. A vigorous assault was made on Tientsin on the 14th of July, and after two days' hard fighting, during which the American Colonel Liscum was killed, the Chinese were driven from Tientsin, the city was occupied, and the Seymour expedition relieved.

In the meantime the situation in Peking was daily growing worse. Before the end of May the members of the legations had begun to realize their danger, though still believing that the Chinese government would fully protect the city. This hope was given up, however, during

the early days of June; and after the murder of the Japanese secretary of legation, Sugiyama, all eyes were fixed on the reinforcements approaching the city under Admiral Seymour. When this hope too failed, the legations took steps to protect themselves. The different buildings were put in a condition of defence, officials scattered throughout the city were gathered into the protected quarters, and missionaries from the neighborhood were brought into the city, those at Pao-ting-fu, however, being entrapped by the Boxers before a rescue could be effected. By the 16th, Peking was completely cut off from the outside world, with bands of Boxers already in the precincts of the city busied with the work of destruction and murder. When the capture of the Taku forts became known, the Tsung-li-Yamén despatched a note to the legations, ordering them to leave Peking within twenty-four hours, inasmuch as the powers had committed an act of war. The legations refused to depart, and a proposal to visit the Yamén in a body was rejected: most fortunately, as it proved, for when on the morning of June 20 the German ambassador, Baron von Ketteler, proceeded to pay a previously announced visit, he was murdered. This proved to be the prelude to a general attack upon the British legation, an area of ten acres, surrounded by a high wall of sun-dried clay, within which by the afternoon of the 20th all the foreigners and many natives were quartered. Here for eight weeks, during the earlier days of which the western world believed all to have been massacred, this heroic band, supported by less than four hundred armed men, protected themselves against the attack not only of Boxers armed with bows and spears, but of Chinese regulars supplied with Krupp guns and magazine rifles belonging to the command of Tung Fuh Hsiang, the Chinese general who had checked the advance of Admiral Seymour's force at Lang-fang. Brave as was the defence, it was evident that the attack was not pushed either with determination or with thoroughness, owing perhaps to the want of will among the besiegers, or, it may be, to the realization by some one in authority that the massacre of the legations would bring upon the Chinese dynasty and empire the vengeance of the western powers.

While these events were transpiring in Peking, a second relief expedition was starting from Tientsin. On August 4, about 19,000 men under the command of the senior officer present, the Russian General Linévitch, set out to rescue the besieged legations and open up Peking once more to the world. The army, composed of Japanese, Russian, British, American, and French soldiers, moved forward on the west side of the river until it reached Peitsang, when all but the Japanese recrossed, continuing on the east side until Yang-tsun was reached, when all came

together again, continuing their march with the Japanese in the lead. On August 14 the rescuing party reached Peking, the British troops being the first to greet the legations. The Chinese defence of the road from Tientsin had proved inefficient and at times cowardly, while the defence of the city, though brave, showed the inability of the Chinese to cope with modern methods of warfare, even when supplied with modern guns and ammunition.

With the victory of the allies and the occupation of Peking, the emperor, empress-dowager, and imperial court fled to Tai-yuen, and eventually in October to Si-ngan, the capital of Shen-si. The city of



FIG. 148.—Count von Waldersee.

Peking—both Tatar and Chinese portions—was divided into districts and placed under the control of the troops of the different powers for the preservation of peace, the restoration of order, and the resumption of business. On August 28 a military promenade was made through the streets, notably through the central pavilion of the imperial palace, as a token of conquest and authority. The unaccustomed freedom thus obtained had one disastrous consequence. Soldiers, diplomats, missionaries, and visitors, turning liberty into license, purloined curios and relics of all kinds from temples and palaces, with little regard for the rights of person and property.

In order to give unity to the military organization of the foreign

troops, Count von Waldersee (Fig. 148), at the suggestion of the German emperor, was accepted as the commander-in-chief of the allied forces; but before his arrival at Tientsin on September 27, punitive expeditions into the interior had already been organized to rescue missionaries, break up Boxer organizations, destroy arsenals and arms, and in general to bring security and peace to the country around Peking in the province of Pe-chili. These expeditions were continued into November; in April, 1901, French and German soldiers fought side by side in Shan-si, where a renewal of the Boxer uprising seemed imminent, and in May, under General Bailloud, dispersed bodies of rioters in southwestern Pe-chili. Many Boxers were executed, notably guilty officials at Pao-ting-fu, missionaries liberated, villages burned, and money obtained for the families of those murdered in the Boxer uprising. Though individual instances of unnecessary cruelty may be cited, and though it is probably true that many suffered who were innocent, yet in the main these expeditions can be justified as necessary. When it is considered that 240 foreigners and 30,000 native converts had been murdered by the Chinese during the preceding six months, and that excesses in the surrounding country continued even after the legations had been relieved, the methods adopted do not seem to have been excessively severe. The lead in the movements was taken by Germans and Russians, while the Americans and Japanese largely refrained from aggressive action, the former having taken no part in the attack on the Taku forts and engaging to a very limited extent in punitive expeditions and looting.

While order was being restored throughout northeastern China, the powers were considering the drafting of a general programme of agreement among themselves, upon the acceptance of which, by the Chinese government, would depend the opening of peace negotiations. The United States, for the first time in her history participating in the European concert, had been the first to formulate such a programme, having in a circular of July 3, 1900, defined her attitude. She had declared her adherence to the policy inaugurated in 1857 of peace with China, of the furtherance of lawful commerce, of the protection of the lives and property of American citizens by all means guaranteed under extra-territorial rights and the law of nations; but at the same time she equally indicated her determination, in case of wrong done, to hold the authors responsible to the uttermost accountability. She declared that it was her purpose to act concurrently with the other powers in rescuing the legations, protecting life and property, guarding all legitimate foreign interests, and aiding to prevent the spread of disorder. She also came out unequivocally for the territorial and administrative

unity of China and the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese empire. The drafting of a common note proved to be a matter of considerable difficulty, because of the necessity of frequent communication with the home governments and the consideration of manifold intricate and novel questions. Germany demanded that the punishment of high officials and ringleaders should be made an essential preliminary to any negotiations for peace, and in this she was supported by all the powers.

On October 5, France presented a note containing six definite propositions. In agreement with Germany she demanded the punishment of the chief culprits, who were to be designated by the representatives of the powers, and in a later note named these as Prince Tuan, Prince Chuang, General Tung Fuh Hsiang, Duke Lan, Yu Hsien, Chao Shu-chiao, and Kang Yi, all intimately connected with the imperial court. Then on her own account she declared for the maintenance of an embargo on the importation of arms, an equitable indemnity for states and private persons, the establishment in Peking of a permanent guard for the legations, the dismantling of the Taku forts, and lastly the military occupation of two or three points on the Tientsin route, thus assuring complete liberty of access for the legations should they wish to go to the coast, and to forces from the seaboard should such need to go up to the capital. This note was accepted by all the powers and became the basis of further negotiations.

By the middle of October the conferring powers had about agreed on their terms, but it was not until the following January that formal relations were entered into with the Chinese representatives. In the meantime the diplomatic situation had taken on a new form, owing to the attitude of Russia toward the Chinese province of Manchuria, through which that power was rapidly pushing one branch of her Siberian Railway, destined to become the short route to Vladivostok and Port Arthur. The trouble had begun during the Boxer uprising, when a border warfare broke out between Chinese and Russians, and the former during July and August, 1900, had attacked Russian troops on the Siberian frontier, fired upon Blagoveshensk on the northern side of the Amur, and destroyed many sections of the Manchurian Railway. But the Cossacks drove back the Chinese with great cruelty, and Russia, in a two months' campaign during August and September against the Chinese in Manchuria, completed the military occupation of that province by the capture on October 1 of the important city of Mukden. The greater portion of the province thus fell into Russian hands, and it began to look as if Russia were to annex Manchuria by force. Russia, however, announced that though

she might extend her occupation to Niu-chwang, she would withdraw as soon as order should be established; and she further declared that she had no designs of territorial acquisition and no intention of holding Manchuria after China had made full reparation for the losses incurred.

In view of these events, as a matter of diplomatic precaution, England and Germany, whose relations had already been officially strengthened by many acts of friendliness during the preceding year, drew closer together and entered into a special agreement regarding a mutual policy in China. On October 16 they signed a convention agreeing to maintain the integrity of the Chinese empire and to preserve the ports free and open to the trade of all. In a third clause they promised, in case another power should make use of the complication in China to obtain territorial advantages, under any form whatever, to come to a preliminary understanding as to the eventual steps to be taken for the protection of their own interests in China. Both England and Germany emphatically denied that Russia or any other power was referred to in the note of agreement, and in a speech of March 15, 1901, von Bülow said that the understanding with England had nothing to do with Manchuria. To this statement Japan took decided exception, and in her view was supported by the British foreign minister, Lord Lansdowne. The official denial was necessary, however, inasmuch as a fourth clause of the agreement invited the other leading powers to become parties to it. As the principles enunciated in the first and second clauses were considered by all favorable to international harmony, the powers without exception gave in their adhesion. The United States, however, deeming the third clause unnecessary, refused to reply to it; while Russia, supported by France, declared that she would modify her attitude according to circumstances and refused to accept it as binding her to any specified course of action.

Though the relations between Great Britain and Russia seemed strained in consequence of the Manchurian incident, definite progress was made during the months of November and December with the drafting of the common note. Though the main terms had been agreed upon as early as November 8, yet the final form of the note was not determined and the finished draft signed by all the powers until December 22; three days later the conjoint note was handed to Prince Ching.

Thus far no formal negotiations had been entered upon by the powers with China. Since July, however, communications had been frequent, and after the rescue of the legations Li Hung Chang and Prince Ching had been vested with full authority to treat with the foreign powers. In September the friendly viceroys of the Yang-tse valley, Chang Chih

Tung, of the dual Hukwang province, who had published in 1897 the volume of "Essays on Exhortations to Study," which had aroused the emperor to take up the question of reform, and Liu Kun Yi of Nan-king, who with his fellow-viceroy had checked the growth of the Boxer movement southward the July before, were added to the commission as advisors. These Yang-tse viceroys, while remaining loyal to the dynasty and to the existing theory of government, understood the necessity of internal reforms, favored changes in the existing system of examinations, and encouraged the introduction of western education and the development of the resources of China through the aid of foreign capital and advice. On October 16 these commissioners had addressed a circular note to the powers, formulating proposals for a preliminary convention on the subject of peace negotiations. They expressed the regrets of the Chinese government for the outrages, promised to pay an indemnity, to modify old treaties or to make new ones, and requested that as soon as the indemnity should have been arranged, the troops might be withdrawn. On January 3, 1901, eleven identical notes, representing each of the powers,—Austria-Hungary, Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, Japan, Russia, Spain, and the United States,—were handed to the Chinese envoys for acceptance and signature. After ten days of hesitation and delay, during which the Chinese government sought, but without success, to obtain an abatement of some of the terms of the protocol, the envoys signed the note on January 14.

The terms of the conjoint note were as follows: After recapitulating the circumstances which had led to the presence of the foreigners in Peking, the note named the "indispensable conditions of peace" in twelve clauses. First of all it demanded that a special journey of regret, a kind of pilgrimage of penance, should be made by a Chinese embassy to Berlin, and a monument be erected in Peking to the memory of Baron von Ketteler; likewise honorable reparation to Japan and a monument in Peking to the memory of Secretary Sugiyama. Then it specified the following definite conditions: For the guilty ones, the severest punishment befitting their crimes; suspension for five years of all official examinations in cities where foreigners had been massacred or cruelly treated; an embargo on all arms and ammunition; full indemnities for all who had incurred loss, whether governments, societies, companies, or individuals; right of foreigners to maintain permanent legation guard and to take measures, by destruction of forts and otherwise, to secure free intercourse between Peking and the sea; obligation of the Chinese government to take steps to prevent further outbreaks in the

future, to amend the treaties of commerce, and to reform the department of foreign affairs and all court ceremonies touching the reception of diplomats in such manner as the powers might indicate.

With the signing of the peace protocol, formal negotiations began with the Chinese government, and three questions for discussion came prominently to the front: the punishment of the ringleaders, the amount of the indemnity, and the revision of the trade treaties. Of these the first was taken up in January, and the government, knowing that differences of opinion existed among the powers as to the character and extent of the penalties required, sought, by hesitation, delay, and evasion, to postpone the final decision. In January it issued a tentative edict providing for the punishment of the guilty, but the ministers, doubting the sincerity of the Chinese, particularly in the matter of the punishments, refused to accept the proposals, and early in February submitted a compromise measure which demanded the punishment of twelve princes and officials.

In considering this compromise the Chinese government continued its policy of delay, and it was not until the powers had issued a threat of further punitive expeditions that the government yielded. Then toward the end of February it put forth an edict confirming the penalties prescribed by the allies, and on the 26th of the same month ordered the decapitation of two officials, Chi Hsin and Hsu Cheng-fu, in the presence of the military representatives of the powers. With the issue of the edict and the executions of the 26th, a question arose among the ministers as to the advisability of drafting a second or supplemental list of provincial officials, composed of those responsible for outrages in the cities, towns, and villages where foreigners had been slain or injured. There was a general agreement that such a list should be drawn up, and in March a brief supplemental list was issued demanding the execution of four officials and the degradation of ninety others prominent in local communities. On April 7 the Chinese government agreed to the demand, and the question of penalties was finally decided. In July it was reported that Prince Tuan, having been sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, was in exile with Duke Lan in northeastern Turkestan, and that General Tung had been banished to Kansu, where he was to suffer additional punishment. Various edicts for the execution of other of the punitive demands of the powers were issued during May and June, but no one had any confidence in their being carried out.

The discussion of the indemnity that China should pay began early in February, but so many were the differences of opinion arising among the powers regarding the amount to be demanded, the methods that

China should employ to meet the debt, and the distribution of the sum among the powers, that the signing of the formal protocol was postponed for more than five months. Russia, supported by France and Japan, proposed that China should pay off the whole indemnity at once by means of a loan which the powers should collectively guarantee. England, supported by the United States, opposed this proposal as manifestly unfair to those states whose credit was good. She demanded that China should issue bonds bearing four per cent. interest redeemable in fifty-six years, and suggested the appointment of a commission to control China's finances. Japan, who supported the Russian proposal because it accorded best with her own financial condition, asked for a larger share of the indemnity to compensate her for the failure she would certainly encounter in attempting to float a four per cent. loan. The request was recognized by all the powers as reasonable, for Japan in the Chinese crisis had rendered exceptionally valuable service, and at this time found herself in serious financial straits. A ministerial crisis had taken place at Tokio on May 14, when the minister of finance had withdrawn from the cabinet; and a few weeks later the entire cabinet had resigned, to be replaced by one under Viscount Katsura. The condition of Japan's credit was clearly displayed on May 17 when the government, desiring to issue treasury bonds to cover the cost of the Chinese expedition, was obliged to offer seven and a half per cent. interest and to promise redemption in six months. Finally it was decided to determine the full amount of the indemnity first, and to allot the proportions to the eleven governments after an equitable adjustment of their claims had been carefully made. The amount ultimately decided upon was 450,000,000 taels (\$337,500,000), to cover, not only private losses, but also all expenses incurred up to June. China accepted this decision, as also a later proposal to pay the whole, with interest at 4 per cent., in annual payments of 18,829,500 taels, which would bring the last payment in 1941. It was believed that China could raise from her customs revenues, which were to be increased, from the salt monopoly, and from the *likin*, or internal tax levied on goods in transit from province to province, a sum sufficient for the annual payment, and these sources of revenue were accordingly made the securities for the debt. The proceeds are paid monthly to a commission at Shanghai.

A second and more serious disagreement arose over the question of increasing the Chinese customs duties. England and the United States, wishing to avoid as far as possible commercial sacrifices and dreading the effect of an increase of customs duties on their commerce, at first opposed such rise until the United States, for the sake of harmony, con-

sented to an increase of five per cent. *ad valorem*, which was eventually accepted by the ministers. But as it appeared probable that the revenue accruing from this source would be insufficient, Russia, with flow commercial interests at stake, proposed that in case China could not otherwise meet the yearly payments, the customs duties should be doubled—that is, raised to ten per cent. This England vigorously opposed unless the *likin* tax should be abolished. A deadlock ensued for several weeks, until finally on July 25 the British minister, Sir Ernest Satow, obtained from the ministers their consent that in case the customs revenues proved insufficient to meet China's obligations they would be willing to take into consideration other sources of revenue. On August 14 the protocol was submitted to the Chinese plenipotentiaries, and on the 27th the latter notified the ministers that they were prepared to sign it. This meant that the Chinese government had finally agreed to the three edicts which had not before been approved, concerning the punishment of certain officials in the provincial list, the prohibition of certain examinations, including the metropolitan examinations in Peking, and the razing of certain forts in China. The protocol was finally signed on the 7th of September, 1901. The delay in the negotiations postponed the evacuation of Peking, which was not finally accomplished till September 17. A body of 1800 men was left to guard the legations, and another force to hold strategic points between Peking and Tientsin.

There still remained, however, two additional questions to be settled, in many ways the most delicate and intricate of all—the consideration of the tariff duties to be imposed upon imports into China and the revision of the trade treaties; for in these lay the crux of the whole matter. The ministers had agreed that a tariff of five per cent. *ad valorem* should be put into effect two months after the protocol had been signed, which should as speedily as possible be converted into a specific duty. No part of the entire negotiation was deemed more important than this; for in trade, not in shares of territory or spheres of influence, lay the interest of the powers in China. The policy that had been adopted by all was that of the integrity of the empire and the maintenance of the “open door,” and to secure the latter, the former had to be guaranteed. Herein lay the importance of Secretary Hay's diplomatic manoeuvre and the Anglo-German agreement of October 16. Herein lay the value of the leased harbors and the desire of many of the powers that all China should be thrown open freely to the commerce of the world.

The first of the new commercial treaties was signed with Great Britain in September, 1902, but as it concerned many vital questions

of the negotiations it was in these points dependent on the acceptance of similar agreements by the other powers. The most important terms stipulated the abolition of the *likin* and all kindred taxes, which secured the free movement of native and foreign goods, except native opium and salt, throughout all the empire; a surtax on import duties of 5 per cent. over existing charges; an addition of 2½ per cent. to the export duty on all goods except silks; the right of China to levy a "consumption tax" on native goods; and the opening of certain new ports to trade. In July, 1903, the treaty was finally ratified, commercial treaties with Japan and the United States being negotiated in the same year. Considerable difficulty arose in 1902 over the payment of the indemnity, owing to the fall in the value of silver and the refusal of China to pay on a gold basis. The years immediately following the military occupation of Peking and the conclusion of the peace negotiations were marked by an important invasion of a peaceful character. In all parts of the Celestial Empire the commercial interests of the western powers were rapidly and vastly increased, and it seemed as if the economic conquest would soon force a reform of the extravagant and effete rule of the empress-dowager. China still awaits the great reorganization and modernizing that has transformed Japan. The powers have pledged her integrity, and the question now is whether the Chinese character and government are capable of regeneration.

In February, 1901, the Manchurian question entered a new phase. In the November before, Admiral Alexieff had invited China to resume the civil government of Manchuria under the protection of Russia, and in February the Russian government called on China to sign a convention by which that power was to resume the civil government of the province but grant extensive privileges and concessions to Russia. This called forth strong opposition from Great Britain and Japan, who promptly addressed remonstrances to the government of Peking, and as a consequence the convention was not accepted by China. But the demands thoroughly aroused Japan and England. The former declared that if the convention were ratified she would demand compensation elsewhere, while in England the old hostility to Russia was revived. The British press began to see only aggression in every Russian act, and to talk about Russia's advance on Peking much as they had formerly talked about Russia's advance on Constantinople. They began once more to discuss "Muscovite greed and intrigue," to comment on Russia's "cynical boldness" and her "subtle and devilish diplomacy." This fear of Russia was probably needlessly exaggerated by British writers and correspondents, but so far as Manchuria and the Yang-tse valley

were concerned, Great Britain alone among the western powers stood opposed to her aggression, for Germany had declared that the Manchurian question was one of entire indifference to her, and in June aroused no little irritation in England by the establishment of a permanent garrison at Shanghai, a city which the British had always considered peculiarly their own.

But if the other western powers disavowed all concern over matters in Manchuria, Great Britain found in Japan a nation even more vitally interested than herself. During the Chinese difficulty Japan's principal anxiety was that Russia should not secure a permanent hold on Manchuria, hence her emphatic protest against the proposed convention of 1901. Common interest, therefore, as well as a common danger, drew the two island nations together in their policy in the Far East, and on January 30, 1902, in a treaty of alliance they defined their attitude on the vital issues involved. After setting forth that they were actuated solely by a desire to maintain the *status quo* in the Far East, especially the independence and territorial integrity of China and Korea, and the maintenance of equal opportunities for all nations in those countries, the two powers agreed upon armed co-operation should either become involved in a war with two or more powers.

The publication of this treaty was followed two months later by a new convention between Russia and China, signed on April 8, regarding the evacuation of Manchuria. According to this instrument, Russia agreed to the re-establishment of Chinese authority in Manchuria, which was to remain "an integral portion of the Chinese Empire," in return for certain guarantees by China on the resumption "of sovereign administrative powers." In the event of there being no further disturbance and no obstacles interposed by the conduct of other powers, Russia agreed to withdraw gradually from Manchuria, the entire evacuation by all Russian troops to be completed within eighteen months from the signing of the convention. Until then the military authorities of the two powers were to agree together upon the number and the stations of Chinese troops in the province. Russia was to restore the Shan-hai-kwan, Niu-chwang, Sin-min-ting railway, provided China undertook the protection of it, obtained the approval of Russia for any changes in the system and paid a separate indemnity to reimburse Russia for moneys expended on its maintenance and repairs. It was further stipulated that the railway should be worked according to the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1899 and that China would strictly observe the terms of the contract made with a private company in 1899, and in no way infringe upon its rights. By well-informed persons these last provi-

sions were regarded as really giving Russia a hold on the country for an indefinite time. Indeed, during the year it became clear that Russia had no serious intention of withdrawing. The pretended evacuation became virtually a concentration of Russian troops along the railway, where improvements of the most permanent kind were inaugurated and the basis laid for the gradual transformation of Manchuria into a Russian province. New demands were made upon China, the negotiations serving to draw the attention of those interested away from the actual state of affairs in Manchuria. On October 8, 1903, the time set by the convention for the evacuation, the Russians were actively building forts and bringing in reinforcements. Mukden, which had been evacuated, was reoccupied on October 28 by a force of nearly 800 Russians with artillery.

The failure of Russia to evacuate Manchuria greatly exasperated the Japanese, who were also fearful of the strengthening of Russian influence in Korea, the hermit kingdom lying directly between the two rival empires. Since 1895 the Japanese had spent largely of their time and money in advancing the interests of the Korean state and in exploiting the resources of the country. Their numbers in Chemulpo, Fusan, and Seoul had increased to over 30,000; they had obtained concessions for the Seoul-Chemulpo and the Seoul-Fusan railroads, for the working of mines, for whaling enterprises, for telegraphs, and for postal routes; they had established schools, missions, and banking establishments; and they had pushed their trading advantages until their commercial interests in Korea far outweighed those of Russia. They had gained legation concessions where Russia had failed, and were laboring with great industry, often very quietly, to control portions of Korean territory. In consequence of this activity and interest in Korea, Japan had demanded for that land, as the powers had done for China, a policy of integrity and the "open door." This Russia, with fewer interests in Korea than had Japan, had promised to respect; but her steady advance in the East since 1895, which was threatening China with the loss of Manchuria, was also endangering the independence of Korea and arousing the hostility of Japan.

The rivalry which had begun when in 1875 Russia compelled Japan, greatly to her disadvantage, to exchange Saghalien for the Kurile group of islands; which had become more acute in 1895 when Russia had forced Japan to revise the treaty of Shimonoseki, took new form in 1900 and 1901, in what appeared to be an attempt on Russia's part to surround Korea with her own authority and influence. Not only was Russia working within Korea, but she was beginning to draw the lines more

closely around her; on the north in planning to connect Port Arthur with Vladivostok by railroad, and to secure a footing on the Korean side of the Yalu by seizing Yungampo in May, 1903, under cover of concessions granted to a Russian timber syndicate some years previous; on the south by gaining such control of advantageous points as would give her the command of the Korean strait. Already claiming a naval station at Masampo, near Fusan, she had sought to extend her authority there by a demonstration in the harbor in 1900 and by issuing an ultimatum regarding the island of Kojedo, lying near by. But Japan had not only successfully urged Korea to refuse Russia's demand regarding Kojedo, but in May, 1901, received also from the Korean government a lease of land at Masampo for a legation, which Russia had not been able to obtain. Japan had likewise thwarted all Russia's attempts to obtain a footing on Tsushima, an island belonging to Japan, which as lying half-way between Port Arthur and Vladivostok was the key to the water route connecting Russia's possessions.

To these difficulties had now been added those over Manchuria, and on July 28 the Japanese government sent a despatch to St. Petersburg, expressing its concern over Russia's policy in Manchuria and her increased activity in Korea. The despatch concluded with a proposal "to enter with the imperial Russian government upon an examination of the condition of affairs." To this Count Lamsdorff, the Russian minister of foreign affairs, who had frequently declared that "an understanding between the two countries was not only desirable but the best policy," made a favorable reply. But the negotiation had not proceeded very far before serious difficulties arose. Views differing radically from those expressed by the foreign minister prevailed at the Russian court, and during the period from August, 1903, to the outbreak of the war in February, 1904, the influence of the war party, headed by Admiral Alexieff, Viceroy of the Far East, dominated the situation. On August 12 Japan sent the first formal propositions to Russia, setting forth the terms she deemed basic for an amicable agreement. These were, first, a mutual engagement to respect the independence and territorial integrity of China and Korea, and to maintain equal opportunities for the trade of all nations in those countries; second, the recognition of Japan's preponderating interest in Korea and of Russia's special interest in Manchuria; third, a reciprocal agreement by the two powers not to impede the development of the industrial and economic activities in these regions; fourth, the recognition by Russia "of the exclusive right of Japan to give advice and assistance in the interest of reform and good government in Korea,

including necessary military assistance." Russia refused to accept these conditions, and after a delay of eight weeks forwarded a counter-note which she asked to submit with the Japanese note as a basis for the preliminary negotiations. The terms of the Russian note at once made evident the serious difficulties in the way of an amicable arrangement. In place of Japan's proposal regarding the integrity of China, Russia stipulated, "the recognition by Japan of Manchuria and its littoral as in all respects outside her sphere of interest." Japan's advice and assistance to Korea in military matters was not conceded, nor was she to use any part of the Korean territory for strategical purposes, or to undertake any military work on the coast of Korea. The note further demanded the erection of a wide neutral zone on the northern frontier of Korea. In general, the Russian note proposed not only to withdraw Manchuria entirely from the negotiations, but to limit definitely the influence of Japan in Korea.

To these unexpected demands there was added at this moment the ominous fact that the date for the evacuation of Manchuria was at hand, without any evidence that Russia intended to carry out the agreement. Accordingly on October 30 the Japanese government communicated to Baron Rosen, the Russian minister at Tokio, the "irreducible minimum," as it was called, in which it reiterated the demands of the first note, but gave its consent to the establishment of a neutral zone on the Korean-Manchurian frontier, and agreed also not "to undertake on the Korean coast any military works capable of menacing the freedom of navigation in the Straits of Korea." To this note, notwithstanding repeated applications for a prompt reply, no answer was made till December 11, after a delay of more than forty days. Nor were the terms of the Russian counter-note any more conciliatory. In regard to Manchuria it was entirely silent, and as to Korea it repeated the restrictions regarding Japanese military assistance quite as if the second Japanese note had never been communicated. The delay, fully as much as the nature of the answer, exasperated the Japanese, and when it was learned that the Russians were taking advantage of the negotiations to collect men and supplies at Port Arthur, both press and people demanded war. On December 10 the lower house had even gone to the length of passing a vote of censure upon the temporizing policy of the government, which resulted, however, in its immediate dissolution, the ministry and the emperor declaring that so long as there was hope of a peaceful solution they would do all in their power to avert a conflict.

Russia was asked to reconsider her demands in a *note verbale* transmitted to Lamsdorff on December 23. To this an unfavorable reply was

made on the 6th of January. Thus from the opening of negotiations in July to the first week in January three notes and replies had been exchanged, and a solution seemed further off than at the beginning. On January 13 the difficulties were still further increased by a Japanese note which demanded the suppression of the Russian proposals regarding the use of any part of Korean territory for strategical purposes, and of the article concerning the neutral zone. It also asked that Russia pledge herself to respect the territorial integrity of China in return for Japan's acceptance of the proposal that Manchuria lay outside her sphere of influence. Russia made no reply, despite repeated requests for an answer. Moreover, reports of Russian military activity, both at Vladivostok and Port Arthur and in the region of the Yalu, became increasingly alarming. Finally, on February 5, Japan decided to break off diplomatic relations. On the following day Baron Kurino transmitted this decision to the Russian foreign office, and the long rivalry for influence and control in Manchuria and Korea was at last submitted to the arbitrament of arms.

On February 8 the Japanese, after having seized Masampo in Korea, began hostilities by an effective midnight attack by torpedo boats on the Russian squadron before Port Arthur, in which two Russian battleships and a cruiser were disabled. The next day they bombarded Port Arthur and inflicted further damage on the fleet. On the same day a division of their fleet attacked and sank the Russian cruiser "Variag" and the gunboat "Koriets" at Chemulpo. On February 10 both governments issued formal declarations of war, accompanied in each case by a careful statement of the issues involved, and a review of the diplomatic negotiations. During the first days of the war the Japanese bent all their efforts to effect the transportation of their forces to the scene of the struggle, relying upon Admiral Togo, the commander of their excellent navy, to keep the Russian fleet at Port Arthur securely blockaded. This he successfully accomplished, and the onerous work of transportation proceeded without interference. By the end of April the first Japanese army, in command of General Kuroki, had reached the Yalu. On May 1 it began to cross the river, and after some sharp fighting easily dislodged the Russians on the right bank. From the Yalu it swept irresistibly forward to Fung-huang-cheng, where Kuroki established his base. In the meantime the second army, under General Oku, landed at Taku-shan, and the third, under General Nodzu, at Pitsewo, on the Liaotung peninsula. Both armies encountered determined but ineffective opposition, and they advanced successfully toward Kinchow Heights. Here a desperate struggle lasting for six days resulted in the capture of Nan-

shan Hill by the Japanese, which not only gave them command of the ridge, but placed them between Kuropatkin's main army to the north and the Russian forces on the peninsula for the defense of Port Arthur. The latter were gradually swept back upon Port Arthur with heavy losses. Port Dalny was captured, and General Nogi at once began to disembark there with the fourth Japanese army of 90,000 for the siege of the fortress. On June 14-16 General Stakelberg from the north tried to break through the Japanese lines at Wa-fang-tien and reopen communications with Port Arthur, but was repulsed with heavy losses. This left the Japanese free to enter upon the second phase of their operations. The fourth army under General Nogi at once invested Port Arthur, while the first three armies began to move northward along converging lines upon Liaoyang, where the Russians were collecting in force.



FIG. 149.—General Kuropatkin.

In February, General Kuropatkin (Fig. 149), who, as minister of war had opposed the war policy, was appointed by the Czar commander-in-chief, with Admiral Makaroff, one of Russia's ablest and most aggressive leaders, as commander of the fleet, Viceroy Alexieff continuing in charge of the civil administration. Troops and supplies were rushed over the great Siberian railroad as fast as the inadequate equipment of the road permitted. Temporary tracks were even laid across the ice on Lake Baikal, while the work of building a road around the southern shore of the lake was pushed rapidly forward. Harbin, at the junction of the Port Arthur and Vladivostok branches of the railway, was selected

PLATE XX.



Field Marshal Oyama.

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as headquarters by Kuropatkin, although Mukden became the great base from which operations were carried on in southern Manchuria.

On the sea the Russian fleet was kept inactive at Port Arthur, blockaded by the Japanese ships. Russia's hope in Admiral Makaroff's appointment was dashed by the destruction, during a sortie, of the flagship "Petrovsky," a catastrophe in which the admiral and five hundred men, among whom was the well-known artist Verastehagin, were lost. Thenceforward the Russian fleet at Port Arthur lacked all initiative, and when the final desperate run for freedom was made, on August 19, it resulted in ignominy and disaster. Of the entire fleet under Admiral Wittshoefft



FIG. 150. Admiral Togo.
(Courtesy of *Collier's Weekly*.)

that made the dash to elude Admiral Togo and join the Vladivostok squadron, a few reached neutral ports, only to be dismantled or destroyed, while the rest were forced back, badly damaged, into the harbor of Port Arthur. Only the Vladivostok squadron of fast cruisers enjoyed a certain amount of freedom of action in the first months of the war, and its destructive operations against commerce caused no little concern. Besides sinking a number of Japanese transports it seized several valuable

prizes. But on August 14 Admiral Kamimura came up with it in the Korean straits, and in a running fight sank the "Rurik" and disabled the other vessels. As a result of these defeats, the Russian naval force in the Far East was reduced to insignificance, and after long delay the government decided to send out a new fleet from the Baltic. This fleet, under Admiral Rojestvensky, known as the second Pacific squadron, set out early in October, and while crossing the North Sea made the deplorable mistake of firing upon a fleet of British fishing vessels, which for the moment brought Great Britain and Russia to the verge of war.

Long before this, however, the campaign on land had been drawing to a crisis. In July Field Marshal Oyama (PLATE XX.) arrived at Dalny, to take over the direction of the Japanese forces in the field, and the operations began to assume a more aggressive character. The Russians were defeated in a series of minor battles, notable among which was Yangste Pass, where General Keller was killed. Early in September the Japanese armies—General Kuroki in the northeast, General Nodzu on the south and southeast, and General Oku on the southwest—came up with the main position of the Russians, stretching in a semicircle south of Liaoyang. Upon this entrenched position they delivered a series of determined and almost irresistible attacks from August 24 to September 4. But the Russians held their position despite the terrible pounding of the Japanese artillery, till Kuroki turned their left flank and forced them to evacuate. Both sides suffered heavy losses, the fighting having been of a desperate nature. General Kuropatkin made a skilful retreat across the Tai-tse, toward Mukden, successfully repelling all attempts by the Japanese right to turn his flank. On October 2, much to the surprise of every one, he issued a pompous order to advance. On the 9th the armies again met near the Yentai mines, and in a series of very sanguinary engagements, fought the battle of the Shakhe, in which the Russians were again worsted, their losses exceeding 45,000 men. Again forced to retreat, they took up a strong position north of the Shakhe river, some miles from Mukden, the Japanese gradually bringing their armies to a position on the south side, facing the Russians. Here both forces remained during the winter, the Japanese being reinforced early in the next year by the arrival of General Nogi's veteran army from Port Arthur.

The operations against the great fortress on the Liaotung peninsula had been pushed with desperate energy by the besiegers. By the middle of August the Japanese lines stretched in a great semicircle across the peninsula parallel to and north of the outer defences of Port Arthur. The reduction of these was the first task, and the brunt of the work



was affected by the siege artillery, some of the forts fairly crumbling under the awful rain of shot and shell. One by one they were stormed by the Japanese infantry after heavy bombardment. Simultaneously with this frontal attack the Japanese undertook to drive a wedge into the Russian main defences. Slowly they drew into the main line of forts. By the end of September their infantry had secured positions at the foot of those hills of the inner defences against which Nogi determined to direct his attack. Sappers and miners took up the work, tunneling and zigzagging the lime-stone mountain sides, worming a way upward for the infantry, while above them the artillery continued to pour in its rain

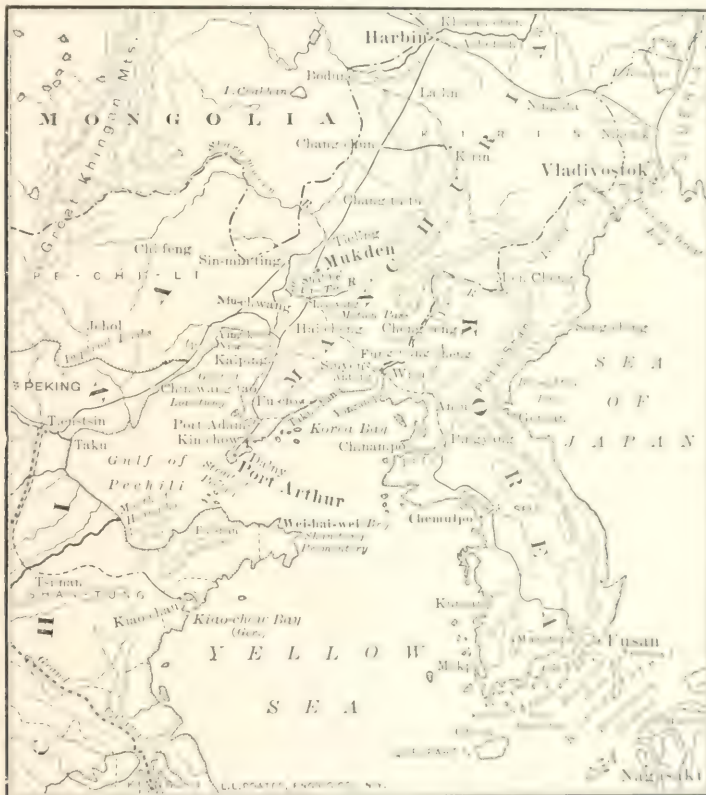


FIG. 151. Map of Manchuria and Korea.

of lead and steel. The mountain sides were red with the blood of the slain, the Russian mines working terrible havoc. Indeed, the annals of war have no parallel to this desperate and sanguinary fighting. Inch by inch, during October and November, the sappers worked their way toward the fortress-crowned summits of 203-Metre Hill, Kikwanshan, Urlungshan, and Sungshushan. Finally, the force that had been work-

ing itself up 203-Metre Hill had reached a point where an assault in the open alone would avail. This was delivered on November 30, and after terrible losses the fortifications were captured. The inner line of Port Arthur's formidable defences was penetrated, the Liaotieshan forts isolated from the rest, and the Russian retreat cut off. Besides, the possession of 203-Metre Hill offered a vantage point from which what remained of the Russian fleet was completely at the mercy of the Japanese guns. By the end of December the sappers had driven their mines under the fort on Urlungshan also, and explosions made large breaches in the defences, which were stormed by the infantry. The second great fort was captured; the Russian main defences cut into three segments; the entire city exposed to the direct fire of the Japanese guns, and the capture of the neighboring fort, Sungshushan, made inevitable. The Russian defence broken, the pivotal positions taken, Port Arthur was forced to surrender without a blow in its defence having been struck by its two strongest forts, Golden Hill and Liaotieshan, so skilfully and scientifically had the Japanese directed their attack upon the key positions. On January 1 General Stoessel made overtures for an armistice. During the week following Port Arthur was handed over to the Japanese, and the most memorable siege of modern warfare concluded; memorable because it is the foremost instance of a great and seemingly impregnable fortress, whose defences were scientifically planned, being called upon to withstand a siege conducted along scientific lines with the aid of modern siege artillery; memorable still more because it resulted in the transfer of the Gibraltar of the East to the Japanese, giving them again their foothold on the mainland and apparently securing for many years to come the maritime and military domination of the Far East to the yellow race.

But the war was by no means ended. The Russian government refused emphatically to yield to the general desire for peace after the fall of the great fortress, and despite the hopeless state of the finances and the open dissatisfaction of the people, decided to continue the war. Russian hopes centred on the gigantic army on the Shakhe, which was being constantly increased by new troops from Russia. But it was not expected that active operations could be opened until the spring, and no great significance was attached to General Mitschenko's raid to cut the Japanese communications, about the middle of January, or even to General Grippenbergs advance a week later, which resulted in bringing on an engagement with the entire Japanese left, and the defeat of the Russians with a loss of about fifteen thousand men. After this the armies resumed their original positions, apparently to await the approach of spring.

Field Marshal Oyama, however, had different plans, for the frozen rivers and the hard ground of the Manchurian winter afforded many advantages for an attacking force. On the 24th of February he inaugurated an attacking and enveloping movement of gigantic proportions. Nodzu and Oku made a frontal attack upon the Russian centre, while Kuroki, in a wide flanking attack, moved upon the Russian left, driving it in from the mountains east of Mukden. At this moment Nogi appeared far north on the Russian right, and almost before Kuropatkin knew of his forced march the Russian lines were doubled back on Mukden from the west also. The result was that by the end of the first week in March Kuropatkin's army was threatened at so many points north of its main positions that large bodies of troops were in imminent danger of annihilation or capture. The retreat was ordered, and with terrible losses the Russians, beaten and disorganized, extricated themselves from the circle of steel which threatened to enclose them. On March 10 the Japanese occupied Mukden, and six days later the fortified position at Tie Pass. On the day following, March 17, Kuropatkin was recalled and the supreme command given to General Linevitch, who alone of the defeated generals had succeeded in making an orderly retreat. The losses on both sides were enormous, those of the Russians numbering probably 100,000 men, seventy large guns, and immense quantities of stores and ammunition. From the standpoint of the numbers engaged, the total, as reported, aggregating more than 700,000, with the advantage decidedly in favor of the Japanese, the battle of Mukden is the most remarkable in military annals. The new Russian commander collected his scattered and beaten forces in the region south of Kirin, whither the Japanese slowly brought their armies. No engagement of any magnitude occurred for several months.

Indeed, shortly after the memorable series of engagements about Mukden, the interest of the struggle shifted once more to the sea. The second Pacific squadron, under the command of Admiral Rojestvensky, had left for the Far East in October, and in February the third squadron, commanded by Rear-admiral Nebogatoff, sailed from Libau. The total fighting strength of the Russian armada in battleships and heavy armed cruisers was thus raised considerably above the estimated naval strength of the Japanese. It was only natural therefore that Russia, and the world at large, should watch with feverish interest the progress of this powerful force. On April 8 Rojestvensky appeared off Singapore. During the latter part of April and early May he remained for several weeks off the coast of French Cochin China, in frequent violation, it is claimed, of the laws of neutrality. The Japanese protested in no uncertain terms, and

England warned France lest by her negligence she should force an extension of the war by making it possible for Japan to demand a carrying out of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. The tension was finally removed by the departure of the Russians on May 12, a few days after the two squadrons had united. For several weeks little was heard of the fleet. It was lost to the world, while the whereabouts of the Japanese navy remained likewise shrouded in mystery. On May 28 the veil was suddenly drawn aside. The world was amazed and Russia stunned by the stupendous nature of the event disclosed. Having chosen the direct and the boldest route to Vladivostok, Rojestvsky's fleet was discovered by the Japanese scouts early in the morning of May 27 entering the Korean Straits east of the island of Tsushima. The news was promptly communicated by wireless telegraphy to the Japanese naval base, and by the afternoon of the same day Admiral Togo's fleet rounded the northern end of the island and bore down upon the Russians. At two o'clock the action began, and before nightfall the deadly aim of Japan's gunners had worked terrible havoc. But more serious still was the destructive work of the Japanese torpedo boats sent to the attack under cover of darkness. With terrible effect these little craft disabled first one ship, then another, the Russians having apparently no adequate means of keeping them at a distance. The following day the fighting was resumed, but the Russian resistance was broken, and one after another of their vessels surrendered or were sunk. Rojestvsky was captured on a torpedo craft and found to be severely wounded. Admiral Nebogatoff struck his flag. Only shattered and insignificant remnants of the fleet escaped. The great Russian armada was practically annihilated by its victorious enemy, which reported a loss of only three torpedo boats and about 300 men. Unparalleled in naval warfare, the battle of the Sea of Japan will stand out in history not merely as the most complete victory of modern times, but also as one of the world's decisive battles. The issue at stake was worthy of the great victory. The mastery of the Far Eastern seas, which had been temporarily secured by Japan in the capture of Port Arthur and the destruction of the first Russian fleet, was again in doubt. The safety of her vast armies in Manchuria, the fruits of a hitherto successful war, and indeed the very existence itself of Japan as a first-rate power, were threatened. All these momentous issues were decided in favor of Japan. Her ascendancy in the Far East was established beyond question, and the relations of the West with the peoples of the Orient put upon an entirely new basis. A direct result of the battle was the opening of negotiations for peace between the two combatants through the offices of the President of the United States,

It is too early to discuss this epoch-making war in its true perspective, but certain remarkable features of the struggle already stand out clear and well defined. The unbroken series of military successes by the Japanese on land and sea have been only paralleled by the results of the efficiency in the other branches of their service, especially in the medical department. In no other war have medical and sanitary science been so largely and so successfully brought into service. That most dangerous of all enemies to armies in time of war, disease, has been almost overcome by the Japanese. The small percentage of losses in their armies and fleets are, when contrasted with losses from this cause in other wars, almost beyond belief. To these marvelous results, both military and scientific, every Japanese has contributed, those at home as well as those at the front, the private as well as the captain and the general. Indeed it is as much to the patient, self-sacrificing spirit of obedience of the rank and file as to the unquestioned genius of her leaders that Japan owes her victories. In its effort to wrest again the mastery of the Far Eastern seas from her rival, the Russian government had spared no expense. Her ships and their equipment were of the most modern type; the difference lay in the *personelle*, in the men in charge of the costly flotillas. Indeed the Russo-Japanese war would seem to be, not a great conflict between two rival nations, but a struggle between Russian autocracy on the one hand and the Japanese people on the other.

The period of thirty years, which we have now traversed, forms a fitting climax to the centuries which have preceded, in that it has seen greater and more far-reaching changes in the conditions of human life than has any corresponding period of years in the world's history. The states of 1871, nationally united and constitutionally organized, have become great industrial and commercial empires, in which landed and class interests hold subordinate positions, hereditary and ecclesiastical traditions have lost their influence, local customs and laws have been broken down, administration has become uniform and in large part decentralized, education has been laicised and widely extended, and the arts are everywhere supplemented by technical studies. Within these states the people are gradually becoming assimilated, as far as governmental efforts can make them, to a common type, and are bound together by common interests and common purposes, based on tradition, language, law, and administration, and the need of uniformity for the sake of greater economic strength. In these states an industrial revolution has effected a great social transformation; the capitalist class has taken the

place of the old landed proprietors, and the laboring men, whose interests received little consideration a century ago, have become an effective power in political and social life. Except in the matter of the franchise, which in some quarters has received noteworthy extension, and in certain parliamentary rights of the majority, for which in some of the lesser states the struggle still continues, few changes have taken place in the political and constitutional order of European governments. The era has been not political, but essentially economic in character; for just as the monarchical state of the eighteenth century was transformed into the national state of the nineteenth, so the national state of the nineteenth century has been transformed, in the thirty years following the war of 1870, into the social and industrial state of the twentieth.

Before 1870 the great problem confronting society was the political and constitutional liberty of the individual; since that time the leading issue has been, in the main, man's economic freedom. For the attainment of the latter, free institutions were necessary, and not until these were established in the struggle from 1815 to 1871 could trade and industry develop normally. After free institutions had been obtained, and powerful united states set up, economic freedom became only a matter of time. Industrial liberty, coupled with human inventiveness, enlarged the capacity of man, and prepared the way for a period of unexampled material prosperity. Wealth, no longer fixed in land, became flexible and mobile, and adapted itself to accumulation in the form of great aggregations of capital. Men of half a century ago talked of wealth in terms of tens and hundreds of thousands; in the first years of the twentieth century they inaugurated enterprises involving tens and hundreds of millions. Such masses of available capital provoked enterprise, enterprise provoked invention, and invention supplied the demand for cheaper output, more rapid transportation, and greater ease and rapidity of communication. The enormous manufacturing supply which followed called for new and larger markets, and an era of expansion and colonization began, essentially different from similar movements before. An expansion, aided by steam and electricity and all the conveniences that human ingenuity could devise, which could apportion Africa peacefully in fourteen years and span the newly acquired territory from north to south and east to west with railroads and telegraph wires almost as rapidly as it had been acquired, was a movement before unheard of in world-history. In fact, the world has been growing smaller, the centre of commercial gravity has shifted from the Mediterranean and the Atlantic to the Pacific and all waters; man, ceasing to be provincial, has become cosmopolitan and is ready to face undertakings of any magnitude, to greet

inventions, no matter how startling, to accomplish results, rather perhaps in conquering nature than in governing his fellow-beings, undreamed of before 1850. Politically he has ceased to be an idealist and has lost the optimism of the earlier decades; materially he has become resourceful, self-restrained, and scientific; morally and religiously he has become less dogmatic, more highly altruistic and regardful of the interests and welfare of others, more humane, resenting the selfishness of caste or class, balancing more equitably faith and works.

These conditions, finding their fullest development in the years from 1871 to 1901, were accompanied with other changes touching society and the spirit of government. Industrialism, which broke down the old agrarian order, has also been compelling the bourgeois or capitalist class to recognize, as fast as the conditions of competition would allow, the demands and needs of those upon whose labor their success depends, and to meet their employees upon terms of equity and fairness. Not only in private relations, but in legislative acts also, has this been the case, and the great number of measures discussed and bills passed during the last decade in behalf of the agricultural and industrial classes is significant of the far-reaching consequences of the extension of the franchise and of the prevailing faith in the vital need of social and economic reforms. To such a faith half a century ago not one in a thousand would have subscribed, fearing a social revolution. On the other hand, the radical parties, both within and without the chambers, having become aware of the futility of street revolutions and the employment of force to gain their ends, are using the ballot and the trade-union as the instruments of power. By means of the franchise extended to them by law, and of obstructionist tactics not forbidden by law, they are able to obtain the passage of advantageous measures or to defeat those which they consider disadvantageous. By means of the strike, everywhere recognized as lawful so long as it does not trespass on the rights of others, they are able to compel employers to raise the wages of the workingman or otherwise better his condition. So numerous in 1901 were strikes in Spain, France, and Italy that compulsory arbitration was being considered as desirable by the ministry in each country.

In these, the early years of the twentieth century, national and administrative tendencies among the powers of the world outside of America show striking and almost contradictory characteristics. The larger states are growing larger and absorbing dependent nationalities; the lesser states, holding their own or becoming satellites of the larger groups, are working out the same political and economic problems on a smaller scale. Japan having been admitted to the world concert, only China, Persia,

Turkey, and Siam remain subject to foreign jurisdiction in the matter of consular courts and foreign post-offices, while Russia with her absolutism, Germany with her highly organized administration and state socialism, and Great Britain with an equally developed and self-reliant individualism, represent the three greatest powers of the European world. Anglicising processes in Malta and South Africa, Germanizing movements in Posen, Schleswig, and Alsace-Lorraine, Magyarization in Transylvania, and Russification in Poland, Finland, the Baltic provinces, and the Caucasus are going on side by side with irredentist activities in Italy and the Balkan states; while regionalism in Spain, federalism in Austria, separatism in Norway, strivings for complete independence in Bulgaria and for autonomy among the subject peoples of the Ottoman empire disclose the strength of national and sectional feeling in those states where the central authority has been either weak or corrupt or enforced assimilation has been impossible. In international relations striking advances have been made, chiefly in the direction of co-operation and amity. War and oppression have, it is true, too often accompanied expansion and assimilation, but danger from a general war, such as Europe has known in the past, has grown less year by year. The powers are becoming rivals, not for thrones or territory, but for sea-routes, spheres of influence, trade advantages, and markets. In the Alabama case, the Bering Sea dispute, the Venezuela difficulty, the Costa Rica packet case, and the Delagoa Bay controversy, arbitration has been employed, and the organization of The Hague Tribunal is at least an earnest of similar peaceful settlements in the future. In scores of minor questions touching boundaries and acts of individual aggression, agreements have been amicably reached by discussion. The very solidity of the great states is favorable to peace, and since 1888 foreign relations have become everywhere less strained, until an accord such as that reached at Peking—which with all its defects was an event hardly conceivable twenty years ago—becomes possible and demonstrates on a large scale what scores of international agreements touching slave-trade, cables, literary property, fisheries, and game have shown in a smaller field—namely, that the powers are steadily progressing toward higher standards in matters of international co-operation.

In truth, the dominant interest at the beginning of the twentieth century, notwithstanding the Russo-Japanese conflict, is opposed to war. Trade demands friendly relations between nations, and the diplomacy of the period is influenced by the need of obtaining favorable tariff conditions. Entirely apart from the moral considerations involved, the immensity of the preparations for war and the greater efficiency of the

instruments of destruction are themselves obstacles ; and the more elaborately man prepares for war, the more zealously he desires to avoid it. Interests to be conserved are no longer those of an individual or of a class, but of all the people of a state ; and war between any or all of the great powers, with its attendant horrors, its enormous expense, and its economic losses, is looked upon as little less than criminal. However frequently broken in practice, there does exist a law of human dignity which to a greater degree than ever before governs civilized thought and action, and characterizes the activities of civilized man at the beginning of the twentieth century.

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